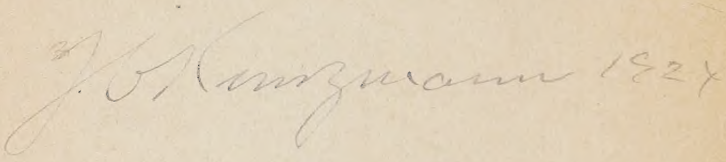
THE LUTHERAN CHURCH IN AMERICAN HISTORY

BY ABDEL ROSS WENTZ



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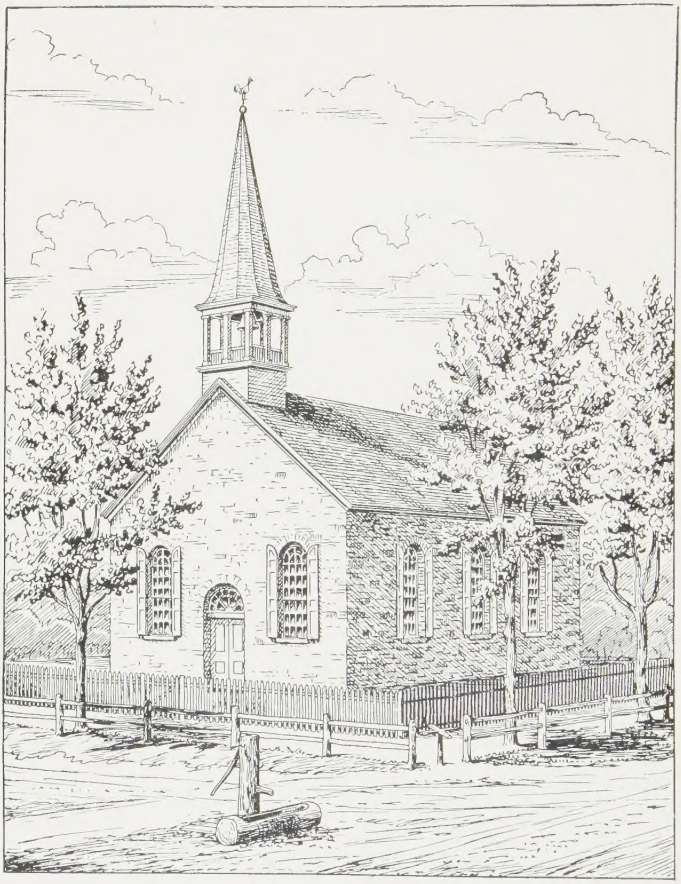

TRINITY CHURCH, NEW YORK

Built in 1729. Mainly by the efforts of the Pennsylvania Pastor, Rev. Daniel Falckner and dedicated by him and Dominie Berkenmeyer in June, 1729. This was the congregation to which Justus Falckner had come from Pennsylvania. To this church Henry Melchior Muhlenberg was called in 1751. Across Rector Street were the grounds in which stood Trinity Episcopal Church, then the only Episcopal Church in New York.

The Lutheran Church in American History

By

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WITH AN INTRODUCTION

By

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INTRODUCTION

The Lutheran Church of America is no exotic, transplanted from a foreign shore, but is a native of this continent. It is not the Church of any one of the numerous lands, whence its members have originally come, and to which it is indebted for much that it joyfully appropriates, but it is as independent as is the United States of the country which has given to it its institutions, its laws and its literature. Its position is not that of a naturalized citizen, but one which rests upon a birthright. Nor is it a copy of what may be found in the ancient home of our ancestors across the Atlantic. But it is a growth of nearly three centuries, in which, as in all healthful life, it has been adjusted to its environment. If it had been from a single nation that all its people had come, it might be otherwise; but Lutherans in America are of many lands and many tongues. If Germany of the formative period of our history, had been an Empire, with an imposing ecclesiastical establishment, it might have held our ancestors in the meshes of its prestige; but the fact that so many Lutheran people, speaking the same language, came to America from so many various political centers, each with its own ecclesiastical regulations, encouraged among their children the freedom which they asserted.

This volume presents an excellent outline of the processes, through which this Church, with its millions of communicant members, has come. Nothing was

farther from the minds of the colonists of the pre-revolutionary period, than to establish a great American Church. If this is true, as we believe it to be, with respect to other denominations, it is especially true of Lutherans. The most that the devout Christian immigrant could pray for, was that, amidst the hardships of pioneer life, he and his family should be provided with the Means of Grace. The most the earlier pastors could do was to search for the widely scattered sheep and bring them together for occasional services. The idea of a common country, embracing all the colonies, was far distant, and so the widest vision with respect to ecclesiastical prospects scarcely reached farther than the boundaries of the colony in which the observer lived. No missionary superintendents crossed the ocean to survey the field and project campaigns of propagandism. But the religious life of the people, quickened by the Spirit of God, was sure, in God's own time and way, to find expression. Religion can never remain a purely individual matter, nor can it be confined within the family or a particular congregation or the circle of nearest neighbors. The community sense inevitably is awakened. The barrier of a diverse language served for a time to protect this sense from breaking across Church lines. When the need was greatest and the cry for those who could lead was sent forth, their prayers were answered, and those endowed with the gift of organization came. Admire as we must the far-seeing plans of Muhlenberg, we cannot escape the conviction that he and his associates spoke and wrote, not as mere individuals, but

as representatives of the awakening life among those around them. Thus through all time, Christianity presses its way onward, through darkness to light, from the bondage of the letter to the freedom of the Spirit, from confusion and doubt into clearness and definiteness of conviction, and molds for itself a Church and Church institutions, through which to work upon that which is external to itself.

This volume shows also how the development of the nation, and the growth of the organization known as The Lutheran Church have progressed side by side. The parallels traced are not mere fortuitous coincidences; they exhibit Providential leadings. Church and State react upon each other, because the God of Nature and the God of Grace are one, and He avails Himself of that which belongs to the Kingdom of Nature to work out the purposes of the Kingdom of Grace. A Free Church was the ideal of the Lutheran Reformers and their Confessions; but under a monarchical government, unless such only in name, this was unattainable. The germinal principle of religious liberty, which the Pilgrims brought to New England, and which they failed to apply with entire consistency, was at last asserted with conscientious fidelity and widely advertised by William Penn as an attraction for emigration, with the result that the city which he founded became the birthplace of a great free nation, and his colony on the Delaware became the nursery of the Lutheran Church of America.

The story is here vividly portrayed as to how, in response to the call of this apostle of civil and religious

freedom, the stream of migration from Lutheran lands, previously either breaking forth in intermittent gushes or flowing feebly and in a narrow channel, became a mighty river, bringing tens, if not hundreds, of thousands to permanent homes in a fertile district, that soon responded to their industry and thrift, where they were not only free, but were encouraged to gather around centers for the hearing of God's Word. Here, from the people collected in dense masses, a Church grew which adjusted itself in much simplicity to its primitive surroundings, but gradually, as their circumstances improved, assumed a more stable form. The new congregations thus established retained many of the features in organization, administration and worship, of their European prototypes, but, by the circumstances of their origin and environment, gained a certain measure of flexibility that is its own, and has influenced the succeeding development of the entire Church. For, in occupying the territory which they settled, they were not left alone in their several fields. Right alongside of them were thousands of others, who had been attracted hither by the same guarantees of religious freedom. That little corner of Pennsylvania, which was the focus of this movement, was, in variety of racial, national and especially of religious distinctions among immigrants, a prophetic mirror in miniature of what America, in subsequent years, was to become. Allusions to this intermixture, almost without a parallel, are frequent among contemporary writers. It was a regular "melting-pot," where the opposites and contradictories of the Old World were

brought into close contact. Even by a stubborn adherence to their native tongue, they were unable to live in total isolation from what was transpiring around them. Toleration and then respect they learned for many separated from them in their old homes by impassible lines. Genuinely Christian hearts cannot be indifferent or irresponsive to the testimony of truly living epistles written not with ink but by the Spirit of God that come to their notice. They learn that often it is just as true that he that is not against us is for us (Mark 9:40; Luke 9:50) as the converse that he that is not with us is against us (Matt. 12:30; Luke 11:23). On the other hand, nothing gives such an appreciation of the value of what is entrusted to us, if it really be of God, as to stand on the defensive and give a reason for the faith which one is called upon to witness. The security of the Church seems to lie in the raising up of zealous, sober-minded teachers who can both commend and censure with discrimination.

To many thoughtful minds of the earlier days, the prospect of any permanency for the Lutheran Church of America seemed hopeless. But the experience of centuries has taught both its right to exist and its powers of adaptation. But beyond this, it proves its special call and supreme responsibility. Never has it been needed more than at the present hour. A Free Lutheran Church in a Free State is no longer an experiment. For what has been already attained, we offer our devout thanksgiving; and we look with confidence into the future, knowing that the same grace

which so abundantly blessed our Fathers, will enable coming generations to read the lessons of the present, as we cannot read them today.

Dr. Wentz's reputation as a careful and discriminating historical scholar and teacher, is well established, and needs no special commendation in this place. In this volume we have a very readable narrative which will secure wide recognition for its attractive form, its skilful condensation and the many suggestive and stimulating lessons for application which its pages offer.

HENRY E. JACOBS

PREFACE

In presenting such a wide range of materials in such a brief compass there can be no thought of comprehensiveness. The only possible points of importance are the interpretation of events and the manner of presentation. The old facts do not change, but many of them admit of a new interpretation in the presence of new facts and in the light of a longer historical perspective.

By his method of presentation in this volume the writer has sought to avoid the danger of abstraction that lurks in the study of Church History and that so often leads to a false detachment of the life and work of the Church from the social and political environment in which it grew up. There is a reciprocal relation between nationality and religion, between a man's conduct as a citizen and his conduct as a Churchman, between the political history of a country and the Church History of that country. In tracing this relationship with reference to the Lutheran Church in American history the writer has tried to set the facts of Lutheran history in the frame-work of general American history.

The sole purpose has been to present a readable book that will help the elementary student of our Church's history to interpret the main direction of events, particularly in the present day.

ABDEL ROSS WENTZ

Gettysburg Theological Seminary,
October 4, 1922.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION 3-8

PREFACE 9

PART ONE. IN COLONIAL TIMES, 1625-1760. Growth of Local Institutions

CHAPTER I. General Background 17-25

CHAPTER II. The New Netherlands and New York 26-33

CHAPTER III. New Sweden 34-40

CHAPTER IV. Georgia 41-44

CHAPTER V. Pennsylvania 45-50

PART TWO. AT THE BIRTH OF THE NATION, 1740-1790. Unity of Organization

CHAPTER VI. The Patriarch 53-65

CHAPTER VII. Growth and Organization....66-70

PART THREE. IN THE YOUTH OF THE REPUBLIC, 1790-1830. Cutting European Ties

CHAPTER VIII. General Background 73-83

CHAPTER IX. Expansion 84-94

CHAPTER X. Problems 95-105

CHAPTER XI. A General Organization...106-114

CHAPTER XII. A Theological Seminary....115-121

PART FOUR. IN A PERIOD OF INTERNAL DISCORD, 1830-1870. Sectionalism and Sectarianism

CHAPTER XIII. General Background 125-135
CHAPTER XIV. Organized Benevolence 136-147
CHAPTER XV. Immigration and Confessional Reaction 148-165
CHAPTER XVI. "American Lutheranism"...166-178
CHAPTER XVII. Disruption and Reconstruction 179-199

PART FIVE. IN THE DAYS OF BIG BUSINESS, 1870-1910. Expansion and Enterprise

CHAPTER XVIII. General Background 203-217
CHAPTER XIX. Growth in Numbers and Benevolence 218-234
CHAPTER XX. The Inner Development of the Augustana Synod..235-253
CHAPTER XXI. The Work of the Missouri Synod 254-261
CHAPTER XXII. Liturgical Development ...262-275
CHAPTER XXIII. Confessional Conservation..276-291

PART SIX. IN AN AGE OF LARGER UNITS, 1910— The National and International View

CHAPTER XXIV. General Background 295-304
CHAPTER XXV. The Norwegian Lutheran Church of America 305-311
CHAPTER XXVI. The United Lutheran Church in America 312-325
CHAPTER XXVII. The Merging of District Synods 326-333
CHAPTER XXVIII. The National Lutheran Council 334-343

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Trinity Church, New York ..... Frontispiece

Old Swedes' Church, Wilmington ..... Opposite 33

Henry Melchior Muhlenberg ..... " 65

Home Missionaries ..... " 81

S. S. Schmucker, D.D. ..... " 113

Lutheran Theological Seminary, Gettysburg, Pa. " 129

Rev. C. F. W. Walther ..... " 161

Other Leaders ..... " 177

Charles Porterfield Krauth, D.D., LL.D. ..... " 193

Southern Seminary, Columbia, South Carolina .. " 209

Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, Missouri ..... " 209

Augustana College and Seminary, Rock Island, Ill. ..... " 241

Foreign Missionaries ..... " 257

Lutheran Theological Seminary, Philadelphia .. " 289

Lutheran Theological Seminary, St. Paul, Minn. " 305

Theodore E. Schmauk, D.D., LL.D. ..... " 321

Muhlenberg Building, Philadelphia ..... " 337

PART I

IN COLONIAL TIMES (1625-1760)

Growth of Local Institutions

The Lutheran Church in American History

CHAPTER I

GENERAL BACKGROUND

The story of the Lutheran Church in America cannot be understood apart from the story of American history in general. The general currents of influence that modify the political and social life of the people are the very same currents that help to determine the religious life of the people. This is necessarily so. The member of the church is at the same time a citizen of the state, and the impulses and ideals that actuate him in the one case are bound to influence his conduct in the other. We may therefore expect to find a significant parallel between the political history of our country and the life story of our Church in our country.

Church History Parallels General History

The beginnings of the Lutheran Church in America were slow, diverse and disconnected. But so were the beginnings of the American colonies themselves. It must be remembered that almost as much time passed between the discovery of America by Columbus and the first permanent settlement at Jamestown as has passed between the establishment of the Republic and the present hour. And again, from the first colonial settlement to the

Slow Beginnings

Declaration of Independence was a longer stretch than from Washington's inauguration to Harding's.

Sparse Population

It should also be noted that population was very sparse in colonial times. In 1660 there were not more than 60,000 people in the colonies, and at the outbreak of the Revolutionary War over a century later there were not more than two and a half millions, or somewhat less in all the colonies combined than the Lutheran Church alone numbers in this country today.

Diversity of Institutions

That long period which we call colonial times was therefore a period of slow movement and localized institutions. There were no rapid currents of thought or practice and no wide-spread organizations either in Church or State. There was so much diversity among the colonies that the history of the Lutheran Church in this period was largely determined by the place where it was located in each case.

The Lutheran element in the colonies was subject to the limitations of the times. It will help us therefore to understand the position of these earliest groups of Lutherans in this country, if we pause to consider some of the political and moral conditions of that day.

Variety in Politics

In politics it was a period of diversity and isolation. The voyages of discovery and exploration with which American history begins had determined the place where the different European nations planted their institutions in America. The early political life of the colonies therefore is really a chapter of European history

and presents as diverse and varied a picture as the political history of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries among the European nations. The variety of manner in which different European nationalities or different groups of the same nationality settled America resulted in isolated colonies or groups of colonies, each characterized by its own sort of government and its own political problems.

Throughout this period there was very little intercommunication among the colonies. The distances that separated the colonial capitals were immense, amounting to thousands of miles if measured by the standards of today. Means of travel were very slow and the physical barriers were very great. Rivers, mountains and forests, savage beasts and still more savage men, were insurmountable obstacles to a common life among the colonists. Until the very end of this period there was no sense whatever of a community of interest and of course no disposition to co-operate in anything.

Lack of Communication

The ties that bound the colonies to Europe were much stronger than any that bound them to one another. The chief highways at first were the rivers. These ran from the mountains to the sea, and roads from north to south were lacking. As a rule, therefore, each colony found it more convenient to hold communication with the mother country than with its neighbor on either side. Two of the strongest colonies, it is true, Virginia in the south and New England in the north, looked to the same mother country for control

Colonial Isolation

and direction. But then the difference in the circumstances under which the two colonies had been founded together with the sharp difference in climate and the consequent difference in industry, reinforced by the lack of intercourse, produced even here a divergence in politics and a difference in type of character. In the north there was a clear movement towards diffusion of rights and privileges among all citizens, while in the south the distinct political trend was towards the centralization of rights and privileges in the hands of a few.

Democracy and Aristocracy

In New England the democratic spirit was fostered by public schools and the printing press, while in the South the aristocratic spirit was cultivated by private schools and limited facilities for reading. In New England industry was varied and labor free with the consequence that wealth was distributed and movement easy. In the South industry was simple and labor forced with the consequence that wealth was concentrated and democracy stunted.

A Blending of Both

In each case the middle group of colonies, destined to be the home of the vast majority of Lutherans throughout this period, showed a partial blending of the two diverse tendencies.

This same diversity characterized the social and religious life of colonial times. The denominationalism that has always been such a prominent characteristic of American religious life has its roots in the very beginnings of the colonial period. From the earliest

times the Church Catholic in our country has never been anything more than the communion of saints and not even remotely their corporation. The earliest Church History of America is in reality a chapter from European Church History. As the colonization of America represented many races of Europe so the religious life of the American colonies reproduced the different types of European Christianity. Of course the external equipment of the churches and their ministers was much more limited than in Europe. But the same religious life and customs that prevailed in the mother countries were practiced in the colonies, the same bigotry and superstitions, the same intolerance and barbarities, the same intemperance and unchastity, the same worldliness and skepticism on the part of most people, the same other-worldliness and gloom on the part of the devout. The colonies responded to the same high impulses that touched European Christianity from time to time, and felt all the waves of religious revival and decline that swept over the home lands. There was perhaps a more general diffusion of the spirit of missions than in Europe, owing to the nearness of the heathen Indians, but lack of organization prevented any aggressive or charitable enterprise.

A Copy of European Religious Life

There was much diversity among the colonies in the details of their religious life and practice. This was due to the religious differences among the countries from which the colonists came and especially to the

Diversity in Religion

differences in the circumstances under which they came. It accounts in large part for the disconnected character of Lutheran history in this period.

The one feature that was common to the religious life of nearly all the colonies was State-Churchism. Many of the colonists had crossed the ocean to escape the intolerance of the Old World. But so completely were they saturated with European modes of thought that after they reached American shores they set up their established Churches and practiced much the same sort of intolerance as that from which they had themselves sought asylum.

State-Churchism

Taxes were levied to purchase church property, to erect church buildings, and to support the pastors of the ruling church. Statutes were enacted to suppress vice and punish blasphemy, to promote the observance of the Lord's Day, and to compel regular attendance on divine services. Strict laws were passed to prevent heresy and to quell dissent in any form. In almost every sphere of life laws were made to regulate the citizen's personal and private conduct even where it did not affect other people. The civil code was very severe in its penalties. The general result was a serious curtailment of the free spiritual influence of the churches and a decided limitation on the exercise of free religious opinion and practice. It was this unholy alliance between the State and some particular Church, in most cases the Church of England, that

Religious Taxes

Blue Laws

dominated the religious landscape down to the Revolution. But the American colonies of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were simply sharing the common heritage of the times when they regarded the civil power and patronage to be a necessity to religion.

Only Pennsylvania and Rhode Island were exceptions. Under the charter of Rhode Island no person was in any way disabled for any religious opinion whatever. Under the proprietary government of Pennsylvania liberty of conscience and worship and eligibility to public office was granted to all persons professing to believe in Jesus Christ. To Rhode Island Lutherans never came. To Pennsylvania they came in large numbers and were cordially welcomed. But apart from Pennsylvania the Lutheran organizations throughout colonial times, if they were not persecuted, existed by tolerance rather than by sovereign and independent right.

Pennsylvania and Rhode Island Exceptions

In the religious trend of the period as well as the political we observe a difference between New England and the South. Most of the English colonists who came to New England had fled from the oppressions of the Church of England at home. They organized their churches in New England in vital connection with the local power, it is true, but on the principle of the equality of the individual members and in complete independence of English authority. The Puritan Church organization was thoroughly democratic. The

New England Puritanism

local congregation was sovereign. The centralization of religious authority in Bishop or Pope was antagonistic to everything Puritan. There was a decided tendency, therefore, towards toleration and diffusion of religious rights.

Southern Anglicanism

On the other hand, the Englishmen who settled in the Southern States were High Churchmen. They admired the episcopate. They sought the aid of the English government in establishing their churches on a monarchical basis, and thus perpetuated the Church of England on American soil. Even when dissenters were allowed to organize churches south of Pennsylvania they labored under the disadvantage of competing with a Church that was either directly supported or else strongly encouraged by the colonial government.

Pennsylvania the Chief Home of Lutheranism

Of the Middle Colonies, New York was at first a Dutch colony, but later as an English colony partook of the religious characteristics of New England. New Jersey and Delaware were much influenced by their proximity to the southern group of colonies and always leaned towards the concentration of religious authority. Pennsylvania, thanks to the broad policy of its founder and other conditions favoring diversity, attracted such a variety of sects and religionists that no central religious organization of the people would have been possible. Colonial Pennsylvania epitomizes that unity in diversity that was afterwards to become the law of the whole land. It was to be ex-

pected, therefore, that the stream of Lutheran exiles from the State Churches of Europe would direct its course to this inviting land and make it the chief home of American Lutheranism throughout colonial times.

CHAPTER II

THE NEW NETHERLANDS AND NEW YORK

The earliest Lutheran settlers in America came to the Dutch colony of the New Netherlands. This Dutch settlement on the Hudson was one of the two colonies that until 1664 prevented England from having a continuous colonial empire from the Penobscot to the Savannah. It was begun by the Dutch West India Company. This company settled forty families in the neighborhood of Albany (then called Fort Orange) in 1623 and two hundred persons on Manhattan Island (then called New Amsterdam) in 1625. The earliest settlers came for commercial purposes and in this respect differed from the earliest settlers of most of the other colonies.

The Dutch Colony

The established Church in Holland was the Reformed. Under the administration of the Dutch West India Company that Church was made the official religious organization in the settlements on the Hudson. But there were large numbers of Lutherans in Holland. Amsterdam alone contained 30,000 Lutherans, among them the wealthiest and most enterprising people in the city. These Lutherans co-operated with their countrymen in the commercial enterprise in America, and some of them came to the New Netherlands with the other settlers in 1623 and 1625. But the

Lutherans Persecuted

policy of the Dutch West India Company, unlike the policy of the Dutch Government itself, excluded all other religions than the Reformed. The result was that the Lutheran settlers on the Hudson found themselves hindered in the exercise of their faith. They not only had to attend the services of their Reformed friends but they were obliged to have their children baptized and instructed by Reformed pastors and in the Reformed faith. Efforts to cultivate their Lutheran faith in private services were met with severe measures of repression by Governor Stuyvesant.

But by the middle of the century the number of Lutherans in the colony had grown to such an extent and their sense of religious oppression had become so deep that they resolved to attempt an independent organization. They proceeded in orderly fashion. They first appealed to the Lutheran consistory of Amsterdam to intercede for them with the directors of the West India Company. Nothing was done. Their request was renewed in 1653, with the petition that a Lutheran pastor be sent them. Four years later the pastor arrived. His name was John Ernst Goetwasser and he had been sent by the Lutheran churches of Amsterdam. But the joy of the Lutherans was bitterness to the Reformed. The Reformed pastors set up a vigorous protest against Goetwasser's admission. He was prohibited from holding services or performing ministerial acts, but nearly two years elapsed before they succeeded in having him deported. It must

Lutheran Pastor Deported

be remembered that this was a day of religious wars in Europe, and religious intolerance was the spirit of the times.

Governor Stuyvesant continued to fulminate against the preaching of any other than the Reformed religion, but in spite of his proclamations the Lutherans in 1662 imported a student, Abelius Zetskoorn, to be their minister. He was forthwith transported to a charge on the Delaware.

The Lutherans Persist

Relief for the Lutherans only came with the surrender of the Dutch settlements to the English in 1664. New Amsterdam took the name of New York. The English governor cheerfully granted the petition of the Lutherans for permission to call their own pastor. But another five years elapsed before their minister arrived. Two calls were declined. The third was accepted and brought Pastor Jacob Fabritius.

Relief Under the English

Meanwhile a Lutheran congregation had been organized at Albany. Fabritius served both of these Dutch congregations. But he was a great disappointment to his long-suffering people. More than a generation they had maintained their Lutheran faith and longed for a Lutheran pastor. And now their first regular minister proved so despotic and irascible that his public and private life disgraced his congregations. With increasing difficulty he administered his work, and in less than two years (1671) he was compelled to resign

A Disappointing Pastor

first in Albany and then in New York. He afterwards took up work among the Swedish Lutherans on the Delaware and left a highly honorable record as a devoted pastor.

As successor to Fabritius the consistory at Amsterdam sent over Bernhard Arensius. He is described as "a gentle personage and of very agreeable behavior." Quietly and faithfully he administered the affairs of the two congregations for twenty years (1671-1691) spending his summers in New York and his winters in Albany. In 1684 the second church building was erected. The first had been erected in 1671 on the present site of Battery Park, but had been demolished in 1673, when the Dutch returned to power for a year, because it stood beyond the fortifications of the city and interfered with its defence. The congregation was duly compensated for its loss and under the superintendence of Arensius built a church within the city walls.

A Faithful Minister

Those were trying times in which Arensius conducted his ministry. The war between Holland and England caused changes of government in the colony. The Roman Catholic aggressiveness of the English King, James II, and his overthrow by the Protestant William of Orange, kept the colonists in constant excitement. But the Lutheran congregations flourished, and when Arensius died in 1691 the congregation in New York consisted of some thirty families while that in Albany numbered twelve families.

Trying Times

For the rest of the seventeenth century the pastorate was vacant. The Lutheran authorities at Amsterdam insisted that the Lutherans of New York must now assume the responsibility for their own pastor. In 1701 they invited Andrew Rudman to become their pastor. He had been laboring among the Swedes on the Delaware. He accepted the call and proved to be a man of constructive talents. But on account of the climate he remained in New York only a little more than a year. In November, 1703, he returned to Pennsylvania and helped to ordain Justus Falckner to be his successor in New York.

Rudman's Short Pastorate

Meanwhile a change had crept over the Lutheran parish in New York. From the beginning it had been a cosmopolitan congregation. The language was Dutch, and a number of the families were Dutch, but the majority of the members were Danish, Swedish, Norwegian and German. Under English rule the German element increased while the Dutch element declined in relative strength. With the turn of the century German immigration set in strongly and Falckner was obliged to conduct services in German as well as Dutch. For several years while the German settlements along the Hudson and Mohawk had no pastor of their own, he took full charge of their congregations also.

Dutch Declines and German Flourishes

It was a large parish of which Falckner had the care. It extended some two hundred miles, from Albany to Long Island, and included settlements on

both sides of the Hudson and in New Jersey. For just twenty years Pastor Falckner cultivated this field. He was a man of thorough education, deep spirituality, and great vigor. His entries in his parish records are accompanied with soulful prayers for the spiritual welfare of those to whom he had ministered. Like his predecessors, he spent the summers in and about New York, the winters in and about Albany. He appointed "Readers" to conduct the services while he was absent in another part of the parish. In addition to his abundant labors as pastor he found time to write and publish a handbook of Christian doctrine in questions and answers. Upon his death in 1723 his elder brother, Daniel, who had become pastor of the Dutch congregations in New Jersey, for a while supplied both the Dutch and the German churches along the Hudson.

Falckner's Faithful Ministry

The German Lutheran congregations in the colony of New York were made up of refugees from the Palatinate of the Rhine. The Palatinate had been ravaged by almost a century of unintermittent war. Finally, in order to establish a vast desert between the German and French borders, Louis XIV had ordered all the inhabitants of the Palatinate, numbering half a million, to leave within three days. Many of the fugitives found temporary refuge in England, and there Queen Anne arranged for their transportation to the American colonies. In 1709 Rev. Joshua Kocherthal and a Lutheran congregation

The Palatines on the Hudson and the Schoharie

of sixty-one people settled Newburgh on the west bank of the Hudson. The next year three thousand more Palatines arrived in New York and were settled a hundred miles up the Hudson at the foot of the Catskills. These settlers suffered terribly from hunger and cold and from the avarice of governors. Some of them made their way westward into the Schoharie Valley. Later immigrants settled all along the Hudson. In all these German parishes Kocherthal was the pastor. Unceasingly he ministered to the temporal and spiritual welfare of his scattered flock until his death in 1719. Then for several years these congregations were added to the Dutch charge of Justus Falckner.

Falckner's successor was William Christopher Berkenmeyer. The Lutheran Consistory of Amsterdam extended him the call of the Dutch congregations in New York and Albany. He was then a theological student in Hamburg. After considerable hesitation he accepted the call, was ordained in Amsterdam and reached New York in 1725. He brought with him a library for the congregation and funds for a new church building. These had been contributed by friends in Germany, Denmark and London. Four years later the new Trinity Church was dedicated in New York. Berkenmeyer had the organizing talent of the North Germans. Seeing that the parish which he had inherited from Falckner was too large for one man to cultivate it successfully, he sent to Germany for another minister, resigned at New York, and took charge of the northern and more promising part of the field, making his home at Athens

Berkenmeyer

OLD SWEDES' CHURCH, WILMINGTON

(then Loonenburg). The southern part of the field was placed in charge of Michael Christian Knoll, a native of Holstein, who had been ordained by the Lutheran pastors of London.

Knoll spent eighteen years of faithful labor in New York under difficult circumstances. He was obliged to preach in Dutch to a congregation that had become predominantly German. The inevitable "split" came in 1750. Christ Church was organized by some of the Germans under Pastor J. F. Reis. Knoll, worn out with the conflict, resigned from Trinity and went to Athens to succeed Berkenmeyer, who had died in 1751. But most of the Germans did not follow Reis, and so a situation arose among the Lutherans of New York that called for the steadying hand of a Muhlenberg.

Division in New York

Berkenmeyer was the most influential spirit among the Lutherans of colonial New York. He was a man of impressive personality, thorough culture, and strict Lutheran convictions. His ministry continued eight years after that of Muhlenberg began in Pennsylvania. But Berkenmeyer and his North German circle of ministers belonged to a different school from Muhlenberg and his Halle group of fellow-laborers. Berkenmeyer suspected Muhlenberg of pietism and laxity of practice, and the correspondence between the two sometimes savored of theological controversy. But that did not prevent Muhlenberg from coming to New York in 1751 and 1752 and saving the Lutheran situation there.

Berkenmeyer and Muhlenberg

CHAPTER III

NEW SWEDEN

When William Penn in 1682 sailed up the Delaware River and selected the site for a city which was long afterwards to become the birthplace of American independence he chose a spot where stood a Swedish village and a Lutheran church. The Swedes had been there for more than a generation before Penn arrived. They were part of that Lutheran settlement which Gustavus Adolphus, King of Sweden, and hero of the Thirty Years' War, had planned before his heroic death and his prime minister had effected during the reign of the young Queen Christina.

The Swedes on the Delaware

The first Swedish Lutherans arrived in 1638. They settled on the present site of Wilmington. Under continued immigration from Sweden the colony grew and spread north and south on both sides of the Delaware. The country was held in the name of the Swedish sovereign and the colony was called New Sweden. Here for nearly two centuries there was a regular succession of devoted Lutheran pastors, thirty-five in total number, ministering to the colonists in at least six Swedish churches.

Swedish Lutheran Churches

With the second expedition in 1639 the Rev. Reorus Torkillus came to the colony. He was the first regular

Lutheran minister in America, for this was eighteen years before even Goetwasser came to the Dutch Lutherans of New Amsterdam. He conducted services in the blockhouse that had been erected at Wilmington. But in 1643 he fell a victim to a dreadful scourge that swept over the colony.

The First Lutheran Minister in America

A few months before Torkillus died a new governor, John Printz, had come to the colony at the head of a new expedition of immigrants. He brought with him another minister, whose name was John Campanius. He also brought detailed instructions to do missionary work among the Indians, to maintain worship and instruction according to the Unaltered Augsburg Confession and to exercise tolerance towards the "Reformed religion." When Governor Printz changed his residence to Tinicum Island in the Delaware River, nine miles southwest of Philadelphia, Campanius accompanied him and built there the first Lutheran church ever erected in America. That was in 1646. There were now about five hundred people in the colony.

The First Lutheran Church in America

The Swedes always lived peaceably with the Indians and laid the foundations for the celebrated Indian policy of William Penn. Campanius carried on missionary work among them and translated Luther's Small Catechism into their language. This was the first work translated into an Indian dialect, as it antedated

An Indian Catechism

the appearance of John Eliot's Indian New Testament by at least thirteen years. The Catechism, however, was not published for nearly fifty years.

Before Campanius returned to Sweden in 1648 Rev. Lars Lock had arrived to take his place. For twenty-two years Lock served the churches at Tinicum and Wilmington. It was a large and growing parish and there were many discouragements. The neighboring Dutch had always contested the rights of the Swedes on the Delaware, and in 1655 when domestic troubles arose in Sweden, Governor Stuyvesant took advantage of the situation to conquer New Sweden and raise the Dutch flag over the Swedish forts. Thus the Swedish crown lost its power forever in the New World. But fortunately for our Lutheran settlers, the Dutch allowed them to keep their pastors and teachers. However, many of the Swedish colonists, among them the most prominent men, returned to Sweden after the Dutch conquest, and the colony was much weakened. Moreover, all touch with the mother country was broken off, and immigration and supplies ceased.

Contact With Sweden Ceases

The people soon began to suffer for the want of spiritual care. Pastor Lock began in 1669 to conduct services in the block house at Wicaco, north of the Schuylkill, now in the southern part of Philadelphia. But his matrimonial unhappiness and his increasing feebleness sadly disabled him in the service. After 1671 for several years he had the able help of Jacob Fabritius, former pastor of the Dutch church at New Amsterdam.

Spiritual Destitution

But in 1677 Lock gave up his work entirely, five years later Fabritius became totally blind, and the spiritual destitution of New Sweden became desperate. For some years two laymen tried to hold the congregations together, Andrew Bengston at Tinicum and Charles Springer at Wilmington, conducting services and reading sermons. But the parish continued to disintegrate.

All efforts to secure a pastor through the Dutch either from Amsterdam or New Amsterdam proved unavailing. Appeals to Sweden went unanswered, for the settlements on the Delaware were no longer a colony of Sweden. Dutch rule had been supplanted in 1664 by English rule, but petitions to the Lutheran consistory of London brought no response. The colony had been included in Penn's grant in 1681, but the great Quaker, though very friendly to the Swedes, could not help their spiritual condition. In His own way God provided for His people. Andrew Printz, a nephew of the former governor, on his travels to America in 1690 happened to learn about his countrymen on the Delaware. He visited them, saw their great spiritual need, and on his return to Sweden contrived to relate his experience to King Charles XI. The King was deeply interested and after an interchange of letters with the Swedes in America he gave orders for the selection of ministers, for the publication of five hundred copies of Luther's Catechism as translated into the language of the Indians by Campanius, and for a large number of Bibles and other books desired by the colonists.

God Provides For His People

The pastors who were commissioned for service in America were Andrew Rudman, Eric Björk and Jonas Aureen. The arrival of these ministers among the Swedes on the Delaware in June, 1697, marked the advent of a new era in the spiritual history of New Sweden. Rudman took charge of Wicaco and Tinicum. Björk became pastor at Wilmington; while Aureen ministered first at Elk River in Maryland and later among the people east of the Delaware in New Jersey.

New Pastors and a New Era

Soon the congregations began to build new churches. Holy Trinity at Wilmington (now known as "Old Swedes Church," and still standing) was dedicated June 4, 1699. Gloria Dei Church in Philadelphia, an interesting landmark to this day, was dedicated just one year later. Both of these buildings are today in the possession of Episcopalians.

New Churches

Under the faithful ministry of these new pastors the Swedish settlements took on a new lease of life. Thereafter to the end of the colonial period, there was a continuous stream of Lutheran ministers coming into the colony from Sweden. Some of these were men of high literary attainments. In 1703 when Rudman returned from his brief pastorate among the Dutch in New York, he together with Björk and Andrew Sandel who had arrived from Sweden the year before, ordained Justus Falckner, the German, to labor among the Dutch and German churches in New York. But there was little

Spiritual Growth

sense of common interest between the Lutherans on the Delaware and those on the Hudson, and from the beginning of the eighteenth century the Swedish Lutherans began to cultivate those intimate relations with the neighboring Episcopalians that were eventually to result in the loss of their Lutheran identity.

We can mention only a few of the most influential among the successors of Rudman and Björk. There was John Dylander, pastor at Wicaco from 1737 to 1741. He completely identified himself with the Americans by marrying a daughter of a Swedish-American. He ministered to the English and the Germans as well as the Swedes, and enjoyed a wide reputation as an eloquent preacher.

Leading Ministers

Israel Acrelius came in 1749 and was pastor at Wilmington. He organized stated conferences of the Swedish ministers and to his very complete "History of New Sweden" we are indebted for our knowledge of the history of the entire settlement. He returned to Sweden in 1756. But the greatest of them all was the learned and saintly Charles Magnus Wrangel. He arrived from Sweden in 1759 and soon became a very intimate friend and adviser of the patriarch Muhlenberg. He helped Muhlenberg to train Americans for the ministry. In his day the Swedish congregations numbered about three thousand souls.

Wrangel's recall by the Swedish authorities in 1768 was deeply resented in America, and the Swedish congregations on the Delaware soon began to clamor for native American ministers and for independence

from Sweden. After the Revolutionary War the Swedish archbishop recalled his missionaries. Thus a number of Swedish parishes on the Delaware became vacant. The younger element called for services in English, and as no Lutheran ministers could be had, either for Swedish or for English service, the congregations made amendments to their constitutions to the effect that their pastors might be either Lutheran or Episcopalian. The transition to the Protestant Episcopal Church was gradually completed.

Transition to the Episcopal Church

That the Lutherans of New Sweden failed to endure is to be explained by the short-sighted policy of the Swedish authorities. The American settlement was treated as a perpetual missionary outpost of the State-Church of Sweden. No effort was made to cultivate a sense of responsibility and self-support on the part of the Americans. The pastors sent were taught to regard themselves as temporary missionaries in waiting for better positions at home. Laymen rarely assumed any responsibility. The pastorates were mostly brief and there was no thought of providing for a native American ministry or of securing the future independent development of the Swedish Lutheran Church in America. In a word, State-Churchism.

Mistaken Policy of Swedish Authorities

CHAPTER IV

GEORGIA

Another Lutheran settlement in colonial times was in the far South. It began a full century later than the Lutheran settlements on the Hudson and the Delaware. But it has made a distinct contribution to the Lutheran element in our country.

In 1734, the year after the founding of Georgia, a ship-load of Lutheran refugees sailed into the mouth of the Savannah and, led by General Oglethorpe, founded the town of Ebenezer, twenty-five miles north of Savannah. They were called Salzburgers from the province in Austria from which they had been expelled. For nearly two centuries these faithful followers of Luther had succeeded in maintaining their evangelical faith in this Catholic land in spite of terrible persecution and hardships. But in 1731 the archbishop of the province had trapped twenty thousand of them into recording their names and faith, and then, despite protests from the Protestant princes of Europe, had ruthlessly ordered them to quit the country at once. The winter march of the pious Salzburg exiles and the joyous expression of their faith as they passed through the various countries of Europe constitute a romance that has invited many pens.

The Salzburgers

Through the intercession of Dr. Samuel Urlsperger of Augsburg the English people provided for the transportation of fifty families of the Salzburgers to the

new colony that General Oglethorpe was founding in America. They were settled under most liberal conditions from the government and granted the rights of English citizenship and full freedom of worship.

Their Settlement in America

Urlsperger and Francke had provided the emigrants with pastors in the persons of two Halle instructors, John Martin Boltzius and Israel Christian Gronau. These were sterling young men of genuine devotion, and under their wise leadership the settlement prospered and grew. The year after the first settlers had arrived additional ship-loads of Salzburgers came and increased the population of the settlement to twelve hundred.

Georgia was the last of the thirteen colonies to be founded. It was the southern frontier of the English colonial empire in America and was established as a buffer against the Spanish. But the Salzburgers lived in peace with all their neighbors until the outbreak of the Revolutionary War. They deprecated slavery and tried to Christianize the Indians. They cultivated silk and cotton, made indigo and wooden ware, and ran mills. Boltzius was a wise manager and the little colony reached a high degree of material prosperity.

Their Prosperity

They also grew in faith and godliness. They erected churches and schools and an orphanage. They were devoted to their faithful pastors and needed no secular authorities to maintain order or settle disputes. Whitefield and the Wesleys, who visited Ebenezer, were

Their Faith and Works

deeply impressed with the faith and piety of these Lutherans.

Ten years after his arrival in America Gronau sickened and died. Dr. Urlsperger sent another Halle man to take his place, Hermann Henry Lemke. For nineteen years he labored in the closest harmony by the side of Boltzius, and this was the period of greatest prosperity in the colony.

Re-enforcements Arrive

Shortly after the middle of the century the settlement was augmented by three transports of Germans from Wurttemberg. With them came a third pastor, Christian Rabenhorst. Boltzius' advancing years and the increasing population of the colony made the labors of a third pastor very welcome.

On the death of the beloved Boltzius in 1765 and his faithful co-laborer, Pastor Lemke in 1768, troubles began for the peace-loving colony. The fathers in Germany sent Christopher F. Triebner to take the place of the departed pastors. He was impetuous and dictatorial and he soon had the colony divided into factions and on the verge of distraction. Muhlenberg was sent for to come from Pennsylvania and settle the difficulty. But two years later the War for Independence broke out and the Ebenezer colony fell a victim to its frontier location. The Salzburgers were warmly sympathetic with the cause of independence, and one of their number, John Adam Treutlen, became the first governor of the state of Georgia. But

Muhlenberg Visits the Colony

good pastor Rabenhorst died broken-hearted in December, 1776, and Triebner proved to be a Tory.

The British invaded the place, destroyed most of the property, scattered the inhabitants and rendered the town desolate. Jerusalem Church, built in 1767, is all that remains today to indicate the location of this Lutheran settlement in colonial times. The people themselves were scattered to other settlements of German Lutherans in the Carolinas and Virginia. There, as well as in Georgia, their noble descendants dwell today in large numbers.

The Original Settlement Destroyed by War

CHAPTER V

PENNSYLVANIA

While these Lutheran settlements were taking place in New York and along the Hudson, on the Delaware and in Georgia and the South, a whole string of settlements, of somewhat differing nature, was gathering in Eastern Pennsylvania. They soon made Pennsylvania the center of the Lutheran population in all the colonies, so that to this day she has a larger Lutheran population than any other State in the Union.

Pennsylvania the Center of Lutheranism

The earliest Lutheran settlements in Pennsylvania were the result of adversities in Europe and advertisements of America. The settlers came from Germany and William Penn was the benevolent instigator of the immigration. Among the German pietists and sectarians who were persecuted by the State-Church of Germany and whom Penn induced to settle near Philadelphia in 1682 and the following years were some of Lutheran views. In 1694 an erratic preacher, Heinrich Bernhard Koester, gathered some of these Lutherans together and held the first German Lutheran service in America. But this did not result in establishing a congregation.

The Earliest Lutherans in the State

After the first few years of the eighteenth century the number of Lutherans in eastern Pennsylvania in-

creased rapidly and resulted in the organization of Lutheran congregations. The long continued ravages of war and the frequent changes of religion in the Palatinate together with the favorable reports from the Germans already in America caused a strong tide of German immigration to set in. At the same time the report of the unjust treatment accorded the Germans in the colony of New York reached Germany and served to divert the main stream of immigration from New York to Pennsylvania. The result was that Philadelphia was almost the sole port of entry for Germans during the rest of the colonial period.

A Strong Tide of German Immigration

The great majority of these Germans were Lutherans and we soon hear of Lutheran congregations at Falckner's Swamp (New Hanover, Montgomery County, 1703), at Germantown and in Philadelphia. Later congregations were organized at Providence (the Trappe), at Lancaster, at Earltown (New Holland, Lancaster County), and at Tulpehocken (in the Lebanon Valley). The Lutherans at Tulpehocken came from New York. Dissatisfied with the continued injustice of the authorities in New York they left their homes in 1723, and, under the guidance of friendly Indians, made their way three hundred miles along the Susquehanna and finally settled in the Lebanon Valley. Here their most distinguished member was Conrad Weiser, the famous Indian agent and father-in-law of the Patriarch Muhlenberg.

The First Lutheran Congregations

With succeeding waves of German immigration the Lutheran settlers of Pennsylvania pushed farther and farther into the interior dotting the colony with "preaching stations" and beckoning spiritual guides to follow them. In the fourth decade they pressed across the Susquehanna and entered the valleys that lead southward to Maryland and Virginia. The high tide of German immigration into the colony came between 1735 and 1745, so that by the middle of the century there were at least forty thousand Lutherans in Pennsylvania.

Settling the Interior

From the general circumstances attending their emigration it followed that these Lutherans did not bring teachers and pastors with them. For a short time they were visited by the Swedish Lutheran pastors on the Delaware. But as the Swedish settlement declined and the Lutherans of Pennsylvania multiplied, their spiritual destitution became acute and in not a few cases they fell a prey to unscrupulous ecclesiastical tramps who took advantage of their unorganized condition to impose on them and almost rob them of their respect for the ministry and their love for the church.

Lack of Ministers

Several devoted pastors were, however, active among them. The first of these was Daniel Falckner, older brother of the Justus Falckner who labored in New York. He was at first the American agent for a German Land Company. He seems to have gathered the Lutherans of Montgomery County into an organiza-

Daniel Falckner

tion at New Hanover about 1703 and to have ministered to them until 1708. He was thus the first regular pastor of the first German Lutheran congregation in America. After 1708 he went to New Jersey and labored there for thirty-three years. On the death of his brother Justus in 1723 his field for a few years extended as far north as Albany.

Another of these pioneer preachers in Pennsylvania was Anthony Jacob Henkel. He came to America as an exile in 1717, and became the progenitor of a long line of distinguished ministers, physicians and business men. He first took up his abode at New Hanover and visited all the German settlements within reach, going as far south as Virginia. He preached to the Lutherans in Philadelphia and Germantown and perhaps was the founder of these two congregations. It is certain that he replaced the old church at New Hanover with a new one and encouraged the building of a church at Germantown. He died in 1728.

Anthony Jacob Henkel

At the very time that Henkel died the Stoevers arrived in Philadelphia, father and son, bearing the same name, John Caspar. The father soon went to Virginia and for several years ministered to the Lutherans there. The son remained in Pennsylvania and became an important forerunner of the great patriarch. In the register of the ship that brought him to America he had called himself "missionary" and that word fitly describes his work. He first made his home at the Trappe, afterwards at New Holland, and finally in Lebanon County. But he

The Stoevers

was an untiring missionary and traveled about from place to place all over eastern Pennsylvania and made periodic visits into Maryland and Virginia. Wherever a few Germans had settled he held services for them, baptized their children, began a church record, and encouraged them to build a church. It is easy to trace his unceasing missionary activity throughout the length and breadth of the colony. Not until 1733 did he succeed in getting someone to ordain him and his ministerial acts before that date were irregular. But for fifty-one years he continued his self-sacrificing work, many years after the arrival of Muhlenberg. He never attempted a general organization and for twenty years after Muhlenberg had organized a synod, Stoever held aloof from it, finally joining in 1768.

The last of the men who helped to prepare the way for Muhlenberg was John Christian Schulz. His stay in this country was very brief; he came in the fall of 1732 and left in the spring of 1733. It was he who ordained the Stoevers. His motives seem to have been rather mercenary. But his chief interest for our subject lies in the fact that he united the three congregations of Philadelphia, the Trappe, and New Hanover into one parish and persuaded "the united congregations" to send him and two laymen on a collecting tour to Germany to secure more ministers and teachers and to solicit funds for churches and school houses. From this mission Pastor Schulz never returned to America but in the end the result of the enterprise was the coming of Muhlenberg.

John Christian Schulz

Nine years elapsed before the seed sown by the American delegation of 1733 bore fruit. They were years of anxiety and peril for the destitute Lutherans of Pennsylvania. The delay was due to mutual misunderstanding. The appeal had been laid before Pastor Ziegenhagen, the court preacher at London, and Professor Francke at Halle. These authorities insisted on clear and definite arrangements in advance for the support of the pastor. Such arrangements the Pennsylvania congregations, though they embraced fifteen hundred families, firmly refused to make, arguing that they could not support a man "in a life of luxury" and that they did not want "a covetous man" as pastor.

Fruitless Appeals for Help

The negotiations dragged over years. But when in 1741 Count Zinzendorf, the Moravian, suddenly appeared in Pennsylvania, posing as a Lutheran, holding inter-denominational conferences, and assuming leadership among the shepherdless Lutherans of the colony, the Halle authorities, who knew Zinzendorf, were stirred to immediate action, and laying hands on Henry Melchior Muhlenberg, sent him to Pennsylvania to plant the Church on a firm foundation. With the coming of Muhlenberg the Lutheran Church in America enters upon a new period of her history.

Muhlenberg Sent

PART II

AT THE BIRTH OF THE NATION

(1740-1790)

UNITY OF ORGANIZATION

CHAPTER VI

THE PATRIARCH

When Professor Francke at Halle in 1741 chose young Muhlenberg for the work of the Lutheran Church in America he chose more wisely than he knew. Muhlenberg was precisely the man demanded by the situation. The parochial period in the life of the Church, like the colonial period in the life of the State, was about to pass and the organic unity of the parishes into the larger Church was about to parallel the federal union of the colonies into the American Republic. God in His wisdom equipped and directed the patriarch of the Church even as He raised up and guided the father of his country.

The Man of the Hour

At the time that Muhlenberg began his work in America the whole spirit of the American colonists was changing. They were still politically dependent upon England but they were becoming conscious of their distinctive American character. The population had grown from a quarter of a million in 1690 to a million and a half in 1750. The western frontier had leaped the Blue Ridge and many of the settlers had turned their backs on the ocean. Large non-English elements had come in. The most numerous of these were the German Protestants who went mainly to the Carolinas and the middle colonies and especially to Pennsylvania. Marvelous prosperity had begotten

The End of Isolation and Divergence

a spirit of self-reliance and intense local patriotism. Rapid social development had also taken place during the first half of the eighteenth century. So that by the year 1750 we have the mingling of all the elements of a new nation, young, strong, and slowly becoming conscious of its power. The period of isolation and divergence was drawing to an end. The situation was such that with the close of the wars against the French it needed only a proper occasion and capable leaders to bring about a political revolution and the birth of an independent nation.

A parallel situation had developed in the spiritual life of the people. This was particularly true of the Lutherans. While still dependent upon Europe for missionary supplies they were becoming conscious of their own peculiar needs. Their numerical increase had far outstripped the European supply of pastors and funds for churches. In a single year (1749) as many as seven thousand Germans entered the port of Philadelphia alone. The few faithful pioneer preachers, with all their devotion and abundant labors, simply could not cover the entire field, and their vision never rose above the parish to span the Church as a whole. No effort could be made to minister the means of grace to those enterprising Lutherans who pushed out into the new frontiers. Meanwhile special dangers in the forms of abounding immorality and waning spirituality threatened the congregations and the unchurched everywhere. Then, too, spiritual vagabonds and low deceivers wrought havoc among many congregations.

Special Needs of Lutherans

Church unionists began to work, and that they partly succeeded among the Lutherans simply indicates a felt need for larger organization.

Elements of strength were not lacking among the Lutherans in America. But their weakness lay in their scattered condition and their threatened absorption into other churches. By the middle of the eighteenth century this fact had become manifest and it needed but a leader with the proper talent of mind and heart to effect a beginning of that process of integration that led the Church out of its missionary and parochial epoch and created the independent and self-reliant Lutheran Church in America.

Disorganization

The man providentially prepared for this great task and divinely called to perform it was Henry Melchior Muhlenberg.

Muhlenberg was thirty-one years old when he came to America. His training and experience had exactly fitted him for his work here. He had come from the electorate of Hanover and had received his theological education at the University of Goettingen. Then for fifteen months he had taught various branches in the Halle Orphanage. Meanwhile he had acquired much facility in languages and in music.

Muhlenberg's Training

For a while he entertained thoughts of going as a missionary to India, but he was prevailed on to accept a call to the country church of Grosshennersdorf in the northeastern corner of Saxony. Two years later, September, 1741, while on his way to his birthplace

He chanced to visit Halle. It was just at the time when the situation in Pennsylvania was engaging Francke's mind. The call from America was urged on the young pastor, and he promptly accepted it as a divine call. A fervent Christian and a firm Lutheran, strong in body and trained in mind, endowed with unusual tact and adaptability, a happy combination of self-made man and university-trained scholar, a rare balance of broad-minded vision and practical affairs—a chain of providences had prepared the right man for the work and had directed him to it.

His Call and Qualifications

Muhlenberg first landed at Charleston and spent a happy week among the Salzburg Lutherans at Ebenezer. He arrived in Philadelphia November 25, 1742. He had come unannounced, as there had been no correspondence between the Pennsylvania congregations and the European authorities since 1739. He found the flock in Philadelphia confused and distracted, the majority following Zinzendorf while the minority had called the vagabond preacher, old Valentine Kraft, and were worshiping in a barn. At New Hanover, thirty-six miles northwest of Philadelphia, an unfinished log building was in use as a church, but the congregation was divided over the person of the ecclesiastical tramp and ex-druggist Empiricus Schmid. At the Trappe, nine miles south of New Hanover, Kraft had also imposed himself on the congregation. But four weeks sufficed for Muhlenberg to gain full possession of his field and to rid his parishes of Zinzendorf and the imposters.

His Arrival

On December 27th he was installed by Rev. Tranberg, the Swedish pastor at Wilmington. The three churches known as "the united congregations" now received him as their pastor.

Muhlenberg took as his motto: *Ecclesia Plantanda,* the Church must be planted. It was a splendid imperative that embraced in its comprehensive scope not merely the three congregations over which he had been installed pastor but all the scattered Lutherans in Pennsylvania and other states, their permanent establishment and abiding welfare.

His Motto

This work of planting the Church Muhlenberg began by opening a school in each of his congregations. Then the congregation in Germantown was added as the fourth church in his charge. He covered the field by alternating between the city and the country, week by week. The congregations grew and took courage. There was no salary for the pastor, nothing but maintenance, but he stuck to his post. His presence inspired new life in all directions and the following summer, 1743, new churches were begun. In a few years worthy edifices were dedicated by all four of the congregations.

Beginning the Work

Meanwhile Muhlenberg's labors had begun to extend to other Lutherans of the dispersion. Calls for help began to reach him from various quarters and wherever possible he responded, giving himself unreservedly to the work of catechizing, confirming, teaching, recon-

Broadening the Field

ciling, establishing, building, preaching and administering the sacraments. He rejoiced to see the people advancing in faithfulness and spiritual strength.

But Muhlenberg had his trials, and the vast field with its dire needs almost overwhelmed him. He needed helpers and sympathizers. He had kept in touch with Halle and sent minute reports of his work in America. The fathers at Halle, in order to keep the mission cause before the people, published from time to time extracts from Muhlenberg's letters and diaries. These publications constitute the famous "Halle Reports," the chief source of our information on this subject.

The Halle Reports

One effect of these "Reports" was to bring Muhlenberg re-enforcements in men and money. Already at the close of 1743 a layman, J. F. Vigera, had come from the Ebenezer colony in Georgia and gave substantial assistance by taking charge of some of the schools. Another excellent teacher was found in J. J. Loeser. But Muhlenberg's heart was greatly cheered by the arrival in January, 1745, of three men from Halle, one pastor and two catechists. The pastor was Rev. Peter Brunnholtz, and the catechists were John Nicholas Kurtz and John Helfrich Schaum. They brought funds to help build the new churches.

Re-enforcements

The two pastors divided the field, Brunnholtz taking charge of the churches in Philadelphia and Germantown while Muhlenberg retained the country churches together with the general oversight of the field. The

catechists were appointed as teachers of the schools. This arrangement made it easier to supply the means of grace to outlying districts and to undertake extended trips among the unorganized Lutherans. At the same time Muhlenberg gave notice that he had come to America to stay. For in April, 1745, he married Anna Mary Weiser, daughter of the famous Indian agent, whom he had learned to know two years before that when he visited Tulpehocken to adjust the difficulties among the factions in that congregation.

The Field Divided

The work of "planting the church" now expanded rapidly. Outposts were established at Upper Milford and Saucon (in Lehigh County), at Easton, Perkasie and other places. Two journeys of one hundred and twenty miles each were made across the Delaware to the Lutheran congregations on the upper waters of the Raritan River in order to settle troubles that had been stirred up by a clerical scamp. Lancaster, still further away, called for help against the Moravian Nyberg who had taken charge of the Lutheran church there. After at least two visits to Lancaster Pastor John Frederick Handschuh, who arrived from Halle in 1748, was located there. In 1747 a journey was made to Frederick, Maryland, by way of Tulpehocken, Lancaster, York, Hanover, and the Monocacy. Everywhere on this trip Muhlenberg found traces of Nyberg's pernicious influence. To the distracted churches his coming was like life from the dead. He succeeded in reconciling jarring factions, encouraged organization, and brought the frontier

Long Journeys

churches into vital relations with the older Eastern parishes and with the mother Church of Europe.

But the greatest step forward in the work of "planting the church" was the organization of a synod in 1748. It was the most important event in Muhlenberg's career. Already in April of that year Muhlenberg and Brunnholtz and Handschuh had held a conference and agreed upon a uniform liturgy. It was essentially the "Common Service" of the present day. It needed to be submitted to the other pastors. Moreover, by the month of August St. Michael's Church in Philadelphia was ready for dedication and the occasion promised to bring together the representative men of the Lutheran Church in America. Then, too, the Tulpehocken charge was strongly urging the ordination of Nicholas Kurtz to become their pastor. Here was abundant occasion for the organization of a synod. The dedication and ordination took place on August 25th and the organization of synod the following day.

Synod Organized

This first synod consisted of six ministers and twenty-four lay delegates besides the entire council of the Philadelphia Church. The ministers were Muhlenberg, Brunnholtz, Handschuh and Kurtz, together with Hartwig of New York and Provost Sandin of the Swedish churches as advisory members. The lay delegates represented ten congregations. Muhlenberg occupied the chair and in his opening address emphasized the importance of a closer union among the congregations. The lay delegates reported

The First Meeting of Synod

concerning the efficiency of their pastors, and the pastors reported concerning the condition of their parochial schools. The common liturgy was examined and adopted. Congratulatory addresses were made by Hartwig and Sandin, and the Synod adjourned to meet the next year in Lancaster.

This small beginning was the first step in the preparation for the independence of the Lutheran Church in America. The organization was known at first as the "United Pastors" and their parishes as the "United Congregations," but it is called today the Ministerium of Pennsylvania. Embracing at first only ten congregations out of the seventy in Pennsylvania and adjacent colonies, it nevertheless grew rapidly and set the example for synodical organization in other colonies. It taught the Lutherans of America to lay aside the narrow, parochial view of things and to take the larger, synodical view, or as Muhlenberg himself said, to "understand the connection and interest of the whole." It created the spirit of self-reliance and aggressiveness that saved the Church in times of danger and cultivated the faith of the fathers both extensively and intensively.

Effects of the Organization

Muhlenberg was easily the moving spirit of the Synod, and from the time of its organization he had the oversight and care of all the churches. One of the foremost problems that engaged his attention was the supply of ministers. The men who came from Europe were utterly inadequate to man the rapidly growing field. So Muhlenberg planned for a native

ministry. The year after the synod was formed he bought forty-nine acres of land in Philadelphia on which to erect a school and seminary and a home for the aged. But war interfered and the project was not accomplished. Nevertheless Muhlenberg gave his three sons to the ministry and took other theological students into his own home where he maintained and taught them.

Plans for a Native Ministry

Meanwhile troubles in several congregations in the province of New York called for a peacemaker. Muhlenberg visited various congregations along the Hudson and then preached in New York City. He was so impressed with the need in that city that he allowed himself to be prevailed on to spend six months there in the summer of 1751 and three months the following summer. He had to preach English, Dutch, and German every Sunday, but he brought unity and new life to the distracted congregations. Much time was also spent among the Lutheran churches of New Jersey. In 1753 another trip was made to the churches west of the Susquehanna as far as Frederick, Maryland. And even Charleston and Ebenezer, in the far south, required a visit in 1774. But permanent calls away from his Pennsylvania field the President of Synod could not accept.

Peacemaker

The Synod held no meetings from 1755 to 1759. The pastors were fairly overwhelmed with the avalanche of Lutheran immigration. There was some opposition to the synod on the part of laymen and on the part of those ministers who had no connection

with Halle. The congregations were of a very heterogeneous composition. There were tremendous discouragements in the work. There was a growing feeling in Muhlenberg's heart and among the other "United Pastors" that the authorities in Europe did not really understand the needs of their American "mission field" and were not making adequate efforts to supply those needs. It was a rather gloomy picture that the leaders of the synod painted in 1754 for the fathers in Halle.

Discouragements

But with the close of the decade conditions improved somewhat. The French and Indian War subsided. The new provost of the Swedish churches, the learned and pious Wrangle, proved to be a most valuable counsellor and a warm personal friend. His coming raised the patriarch's spirits and encouraged him to revive the synod from its state of suspended animation. This was done in 1760. The organization was improved, the elements of a constitution began to gather, and never after that did synodical activity lag.

Synod Revived

In 1762 a congregational constitution was prepared for St. Michael's in Philadelphia. This was highly important. It embodied the results of many years of experience and observation among German, Swedish and Dutch Lutherans, and it became the model for similar constitutions throughout the country.

A Model Church Constitution

A few more years and the patriarch's strength began to fail. But other able men were arising to be his

helpers and afterwards to take his place. The Church was planted. People had been gathered into congregations and congregations had been organized into a synod. Buildings had been erected and stable constitutions provided. A community of interest had been established and a stream of native theological students had begun to flow into the vacant pulpits. The ecclesiastical development of the Lutheran Church had kept pace with the political development of the colonies. The Church was fortified within and without against ecclesiastical dissipation, prepared to withstand the shock of the Revolution from European control and ready to resist the chilling blasts of rationalism and religious indifference that were soon to sweep over the land. The Church was planted: let the nation be born.

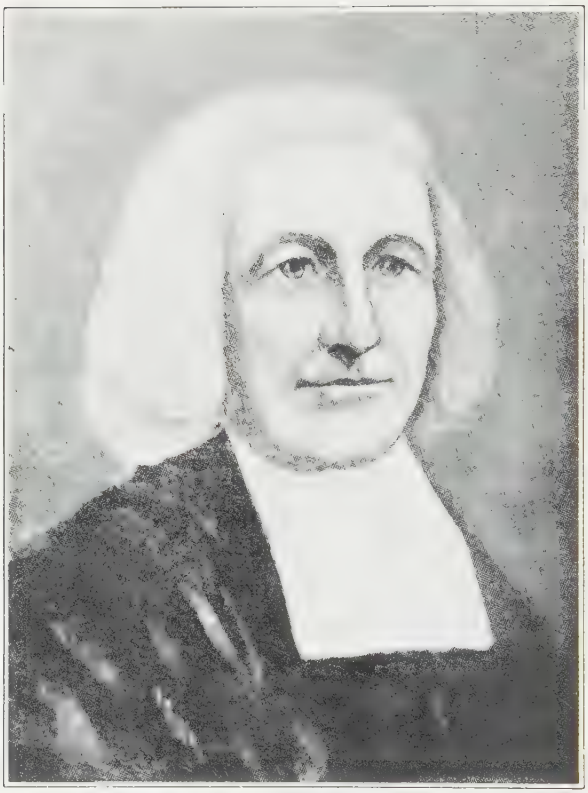
Muhlenberg's Work Completed

In 1779 the correspondence with Halle was interrupted by the war. It was not resumed for more than a generation, and the Church in America peaceably obtained its independence. An American hymnbook was ordered in 1782 and prepared under Muhlenberg's guidance. The liturgy and ministerial acts were printed. And the American Lutheran Church had been born.

The Church Becomes Independent

The Patriarch's public work was finished. He lived until 1787, but the distractions of the Revolution prevented any more large enterprises. He rejoiced in the loyalty of his beloved Lutherans to the cause of

Passing of the Patriarch



HENRY MELCHIOR MUHLENBERG

American independence and took pride in the splendid political activities of his distinguished sons during that critical period. He received many honors in his age and after his death, but his chief monument is the American Lutheran Church.

CHAPTER VII

GROWTH AND EXPANSION

The planting of the Church had come none too soon. Not only did the organization of the independent life of the Church on American soil prepare it to withstand the shock of the Revolutionary War, but it also prepared the Church to absorb, in some measure at least, the swelling numbers of Lutherans who were pouring into this country. The years that cover the span of Muhlenberg's life in America witnessed not only the growth of organization but also a great numerical increase and geographical expansion of the Church.

Prepared to Grow

When Muhlenberg came to America the white population of the country numbered less than three-quarters of a million. At the outbreak of the Revolution, when all immigration ceased for a number of years, it numbered two and a half millions. A few years after Muhlenberg's death, when the first census was taken, it had grown to four millions. The increase in the number of Lutherans in the land more than kept pace with the increase in general population. When Muhlenberg arrived in Pennsylvania there were probably far less than twenty thousand people in the colony who were in any sense Lutherans. But two years after the organization of the synod the number had increased at least three-fold, and at the outbreak of the war it is safe to say that seventy-five thousand of the one

Increase in Numbers

hundred and ten thousand Germans in the colony were Lutherans. In other colonies also, though not to the same degree as in Pennsylvania, the numbers of the Lutherans were steadily growing. Of course only a fraction of these were gathered into congregations.

Moreover, this growing Lutheran constituency was no longer in 1790 concentrated about the chief ports and main waterways near the Atlantic. It had begun to scatter and spread into the interior.

We have seen how some of the Germans on the banks of the Hudson as early as 1713 courageously moved out into the valleys of the Schoharie and the Mohawk and how from there ten years later thirty-three families made their way to Berks and Lebanon Counties, Pennsylvania. The Lutherans of New York had also spread into New Jersey and peopled whole congregations there. The Ebenezer colony of Salzburgers had been scattered by the war, and its fragments furnished the nucleus for a number of Lutheran communities in the South. Lutheran congregations had been established at Charleston, at Orangeburg, and in Lexington County, South Carolina. In North Carolina the Lutheran settlement at New Berne had begun in that same emigration of Palatines that brought Kocherthal to New York, and other settlements of Lutherans soon followed in that colony. The Lutherans in Madison County, Virginia, had come largely from North Carolina. Baltimore also had its Lutheran Church.

Beginning to Scatter

But the chief center of Lutheran expansion and distribution in colonial times was Pennsylvania. Even

before Muhlenberg arrived the Lutherans of Pennsylvania had begun to push out from Philadelphia and beyond the counties of Montgomery, Lancaster and Berks, towards the frontiers of the colony. In the fourth decade of the eighteenth century they crossed the Susquehanna. Some of them kept east of the South Mountain and established Lutheran congregations in York County and at various points in Maryland as far as Frederick. Others went west of the mountain and followed the prolongation of the Cumberland Valley from Harrisburg to Hagerstown and far beyond into the Shenandoah Valley of Virginia. Even North Carolina, in its central and western parts, had been settled by Lutherans from Pennsylvania.

Starting From Pennsylvania

Muhlenberg had been called to serve three congregations in 1742. But so rapid was the growth of organization and the increase in numbers that already in 1771 he reported seventy congregations in Pennsylvania and the adjacent provinces over which he was expected to exercise some kind of oversight. And there were about thirty Lutheran congregations in other parts of the country.

Rapid Growth

Everywhere, as enterprising Americans pressed into the interior, subduing the hostile Indians, taming the wilderness, and beginning that long and thrilling romance known as "the winning of the West," Lutherans were in the van of that great movement carrying along with them their faith and hope and love and beckoning for spiritual ministry to follow them.

Among the Pioneers

How to provide adequate spiritual leadership for the rapidly expanding Church was the most serious problem pressing for solution at the close of the war for independence. Under the inspiration of Muhlenberg's "Halle Reports" a steady stream of able leaders came from the fatherland. But their number was utterly inadequate to meet the growing need. Under the impulse of the ripening organization of the synod native Americans were trained in American parsonages and ordained to the ministry. But their number. also, was almost infinitesimal compared with the need, and their training was often very indifferent.

Need of Spiritual Leaders

At the time of Muhlenberg's death there were not more than forty Lutheran ministers of any kind in all America. There were many noble spirits among them and several shining lights, such as J. N. Kurtz and J. H. C. Helmuth, and Muhlenberg's sons-in-law, Kunze and Schultze. But their number was all too few. Then, too, the Halle type of minister no longer predominated so exclusively as it once had. Moreover, Halle itself was changing. The teachers of Muhlenberg's acquaintance had passed off the scene and the new teachers were not so firmly Lutheran and evangelical nor did they inculcate the same religious fervor and warm Christian piety as the Franckes. All the more urgent was the need of providing a native American Lutheran ministry.

Call for a Native Ministry

The project of establishing a theological seminary had vanished with the outbreak of the Revolution, and

after the smoke of the battle had lifted the times were not so favorable for such an enterprise and a new generation of ministers had arisen unaccustomed to the heroic undertakings of a Muhlenberg. Only the organization of new synods covering the whole country and the gathering of these into a general body could furnish the background for such an undertaking. That time was soon to come. But for the present the Lutheran Church in America was dependent on Europe for her ministry, even after the birth of the nation; and the supply of spiritual leaders from the native ranks, so necessary for the full maturity of the Church, waited for a new period in general American history.

The Seminary Delayed

PART III

IN THE YOUTH OF THE REPUBLIC

(1790-1830)

Cutting European Ties

CHAPTER VIII

GENERAL BACKGROUND

The first forty years in the life of the American Republic were marked politically by rapid development of the national spirit. That spirit was painfully born amid the throes of the debates on the Constitution and its ratification by the States. Very feeble at first and barely able to continue alive, it gradually gained strength until near the end of the period now before us it attained its full stature of health and vigor.

The Infant Republic

The rise of the national spirit meant that the thought of the people broke through the narrow limits of State lines and contemplated the broader and deeper questions that arose out of the life of the whole country. It resulted in the centralization of power in the hands of the federal government and the consequent limitation of the powers of the States. It also severed the bonds that tied the Americans to their European masters, and gave them independence in fact as the Revolutionary War had given them independence in name. This growth of the American spirit with its attendant severance of European ties applied to the intellectual and religious life as well as the political. It helps to explain the general trend of events in the Lutheran Church during this period.

National Self-Determination

Let us observe first how the course of *political* events served to strengthen the spirit of American nationality.

The national elections of representatives and senators for the Federal Congress, and the selection of presidential electors, recurring at short intervals, served to direct the attention of the people periodically to questions of national interest. The people of the whole country were made to engage in the same acts at the same time and for common national ends, and this meant that the period of isolation was forever gone.

Growing Spirit of Nationality

An unbroken succession of federal events unconsciously stimulated the sentiment of common concern, broadening the ideas and sympathies of the people and drawing them away from the narrow and opposing interests of State and section. This unconscious growth of national affection is well illustrated by the effects of Washington's journey from Mt. Vernon to New York to be inaugurated. It was a continuous triumph, and those who participated, those who witnessed, and those who read and heard about it, were thrilled with hope and pride over the auspicious beginning of the national government.

Then, too, a whole series of legislative acts, embracing all the leading measures of the Washington and Adams administrations, called into life national agents and national functions and subordinated the interests of section to those of nation. There was the protective tariff on imported goods. This served to increase the powers of the central government and gained support for the nationalist view of the functions of government. Then, the federal payment at their face value of all debts incurred during the Revolutionary

War, and the assumption by the United States of the State debts, the levying of an excise on distilled liquors (and incidentally its forced collection in western Pennsylvania), and above all the chartering of a United States Bank, all of these features of Hamilton's grand financial system were conscious and extraordinary stretches of national authority which called into vigorous exercise the *implied* powers of the Constitution, gave concrete proof of the strength of the national government, and rode rough-shod over all petty interests of localities.

Increasing the Federal Powers

Moreover, our foreign relations in this period are at once an indication and a cause of the growing principle of nationality. Washington's famous proclamation of neutrality as between France and England was a second declaration of independence which shook off forever the colonial habit of cringing dependence upon Europe. The popular rejection of the French minister Genet, the great indignation against England in 1793 and 1794, and the war fever kindled against France by the X Y Z affair,—all looked in the direction of strengthening the nation at the expense of her component parts.

Foreign Relations

So firmly established was the principle of nationality at the beginning of the nineteenth century that when the Federalists overleaped themselves and the reaction placed Jefferson in the presidential chair, that great Democrat, the firm advocate of strict construction, of state sovereignty, and of limited national powers,

found himself forced by circumstances to make use of the very powers he had opposed. In 1803 he purchased the Louisiana Territory although he himself acknowledged that he had no constitutional power to do so. This was the most important political event after the adoption of the Constitution. It nearly doubled the domain of the United States. It opened immense possibilities not only for the American nation but also for the Kingdom of God, and it greatly increased the self-consciousness of the young Republic.

Louisiana Purchase

Then the English aggressions from 1803 to 1812 helped to swell the current of nationality. Even in New England where a strong sympathy for Old England had served to cultivate a sort of sectionalism, her chief statesmen were nevertheless all arrayed on the side of the national policy. The War of 1812 also greatly promoted the national spirit and when in 1817 Monroe was inaugurated as President the country was at the full tide of enthusiasm for nationality, in this respect the high-water mark of the nineteenth century.

The "Era of Good Feeling"

The National Bank had been re-established with more than three times the capital and authority of Hamilton's Bank. The tariff rates, which had been doubled in 1812 to provide war revenue, were even increased in 1816 for protective reasons. Confident pride in the growing West and the experience of the war led Congress to vote lavish donations of public money for internal improvements. Chief Justice Marshall in his famous decisions interpreting the Constitution con-

sistently rendered verdicts in support of the national authority against that of the States. A striking rebuke was administered to the political grumblers assembled at Hartford, and for years the fall of the Federalist party served as a text for exhortations to national unity. President Monroe's tour of the States and his cordial reception everywhere stamped the period as the "era of good feeling."

Unity Out of Diversity

The jangling communities of the preceding century had been transformed into one great enthusiastic empire. Instead of the thirteen diverse and isolated commonwealths of colonial times we now have a growing Union of States that have released themselves from colonial dependence on a transatlantic power and have become conscious through common perils, victories and hopes, of national unity and life, and are proceeding in hearty accord to ordain institutes of national government binding on all. This fact profoundly influenced the course of Church History in this period.

Separation of Church and State

Religiously also the period from 1790 to 1830 may fairly enough be called an "era of good feeling." This was made possible by the great change that had occurred in the status of the churches when the Republic was founded. The established churches of colonial times were deprived of all their special privileges and, with a few exceptions in New England, general recognition was given to the American principle of the non-interference of the State with religion

and the equality of all religious communions before the law.

One result of this was that Old World animosities tended to disappear and the American denominations, compelled to live on the same level of privilege, were thrown upon their own resources of faith and love. Most of the churches made the transition from establishment to the voluntary system with very little difficulty and manifested an amazing degree of enterprise and zeal for the progress of God's Kingdom. In Pennsylvania the voluntary system had always been practiced and no great change was necessary in the relations between Church and State, but the numerous communion of Lutherans in that State did not fail to catch the enthusiasm for practical Christian tasks that swept over the other communions in this period.

The Voluntary System in Religion

Now there was abundant occasion in the youth of the Republic for a high spirit of enterprise and enthusiastic practical endeavor on the part of all the American churches. The opportunities for service were tremendous and there was no need for denominational rivalry, for there was glory enough for them all. It was a time of territorial expansion and numerical growth. The vast stretches of the Mississippi Valley were thrown open to enterprising settlers. Immeasurable riches of forests and minerals and amazingly productive soils quickly drew tens of thousands of families to the great valley. The ambitious project of a French Catholic empire on that part of the continent had long since vanished and so there was opened to the American

churches an immense field for missionary activity. While the territory of the Republic expanded two-fold the population multiplied more than three-fold, from four millions in 1790 to thirteen millions in 1830. Agricultural communities still predominated and this insured that social democracy kept pace with political democracy. But there was a striking growth in city life: from only six towns of over six thousand in 1790 to thirty-two cities of over eight thousand in 1830. This meant a stimulus to intellectual activity, and a national literature began in the establishment of Niles' Register and the North American Review and in the writings of such men as Irving, Cooper and Bryant.

Opportunities for Service

Thus the opportunities and problems of American Christianity were multiplied manyfold during this period. They were commonly accepted as opportunities and problems peculiarly American, and it was felt that they must be met by methods peculiarly American. This developed a spirit of religious and ecclesiastical independence from Old World standards. The religious history of the period, therefore, runs exactly parallel to its political history. Quite naturally there were many pioneer methods of church work and numerous religious makeshifts, but the religious life of the period is marked everywhere by the development of American self-consciousness in the churches and the growth of the spirit of co-operation in common Christian tasks. This splendid philanthropy was often marked by a deplorable degree of confessional laxity

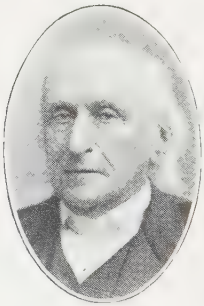
American Consciousness in Religion

and distinct losses to the denominational consciousness, yet it was a very decided improvement upon the religious indifference and the utter moral deterioration that was witnessed by the two rationalistic decades following the Revolutionary War.

The cause of this change is undoubtedly to be found in the evangelical movement and the wide-spread revivals that marked the beginning of the nineteenth century. The evangelical movement has its primary action in the sphere of the affections and its normal result is a clearer perception of the brotherhood of man and new zeal in the varied works of Christian love. So it was that the Christians of the early nineteenth century, in the face of an unprecedented common task, became keenly conscious of the importance of what they held in common as Christians, as contrasted with what they held severally as members of various denominations. Denominational interests occupied them less; Christian and Catholic interests occupied them more. The following, briefly, are the facts.

The Evangelical Movement

In the opening year of the century (1801) the General Assembly of the Presbyterians entered into the famous "Plan of Union," a compact with the General Association of Congregationalists of Connecticut. By this agreement the difference in polity between these two Churches was almost forgotten and something like organic unity was achieved, in order that the new settlements of the westward movement might be saved from local schisms and might be able to present full strength against real foes. A few years later a new



HOME MISSIONARIES

Rev. Johannes Stauch

J. C. F. Heyer, M.D.

Rev. Paul Henkel

Ezra Keller, D.D.

Rev. Michael J. Steck

denomination was born with the distinct purpose of protesting against schism and sectarianism and with the avowed aim of bringing unity among the Christian churches. They have since become a separate sect known as the Disciples of Christ. In the widespread revivals of those years the Methodists and Baptists worked hand in hand, though at other points they were thrown into sharp competition. And sometimes both Methodists and Baptists enjoyed the co-operation of the Presbyterians who differed from them both in matters which they all considered important. The Episcopal Church began to practice quite commonly the interchange of pulpits, and in other ways to show herself in full sympathy with her fellow-Christians. Even the Roman Catholic Church was profoundly influenced by the spirit of devotion to common Christianity and manifested a startling disposition to obscure or obliterate some of the most characteristic features of her own system. Catholic churches were occasionally used for Protestant worship. Catholic priests and bishops actually preached to Protestant congregations. Jesuits served as trustees of Protestant colleges. There was a tendency to use the English language exclusively in the Roman worship. Lay "trusteeism" was quite general before 1830. All of which indicates a friendly feeling on the part of Catholics towards other Christians and a disposition to act with them as far as possible.

Co-operation Among the Denominations

Members of all these churches which we have mentioned except the Catholic began to associate them-

selves early in the century for various forms of Christian philanthropy. It was not a federation of Church bodies but only an organic union of individual Christians of the various Protestant denominations for the performance of the high offices of the Church universal. Such organizations were, first of all, the American Bible Society (organized 1808), then the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (1810), the American Education Society (1813), the American Sunday School Union (1824), the American Tract Society (1825), the Seamen's Friend Society (1826), and the American Home Missionary Society (1826). These organizations were inter-denominational in their scope, and that so many of them date their birth from this period is striking evidence of the general tendency.

Organized Philanthropy

The German-speaking American Church in its two branches, the Lutheran and the Reformed, had felt practically nothing of the Great Awakening of 1740, and now at the beginning of the nineteenth century they were somewhat slower than the other churches to feel the quickening evangelical influences that swept over the other churches at that time. This was due in part to the obstacles interposed by the differences of language, but more largely to their intrinsic conservatism of doctrine and practice and to their longer period of training in the methods and responsibilities of established churches. But when the new American impulse did begin to act vigorously upon them, say after 1810, they joined in the evan-

Lutherans Feel the American Impulse

gelical movement with intense fervor and manifested great zeal in co-operating with their fellow Christians in the works of Christian love. And not only so, but they manifested an unusual degree of confessional laxity that for several decades threatened to obliterate the historic traits which had marked them among Christians for almost three centuries. This belated movement continued in force long beyond 1830. It was stronger in the Lutheran Church than in the Reformed. In both cases it signified the development of a distinct American life in the churches and tended to separate them from European connections, and while this delivered them in large measure from the open dangers of German rationalism in that period, at the same time it subjected them to the more insidious danger of American unionism and called for decisive measures of internal conservation.

CHAPTER IX

EXPANSION

Nothing is more characteristic of the Lutheran Church in the youth of the Republic than the westward expansion of her population. It raised new issues, precipitated new problems, and forced her to new forms of activity. The lengthening of the cords called for strengthening of the stakes.

Westward Expansion

The extension of national territory and the founding of new States, the end of Indian hostilities and the liberal land policy of Government, the development in steam navigation and the building of roads and canals, gave a strong impulse to migration from the older settlements in the East to the inviting valleys of the Ohio and the Mississippi.

Causes of Migration

Pennsylvania was particularly active in internal improvements. Millions were spent in that State to create a system of turnpikes joining the eastern parts of the commonwealth with the western parts and Ohio. Hundreds of thousands of Pennsylvanians, including great numbers of Lutherans, crossed the Alleghanies and settled in western Pennsylvania and in central Ohio, Indiana and Illinois. The settlement took place in successive waves, each new wave penetrating farther into the wilderness. During the first decade of the nineteenth century Ohio grew from forty-

Successive Waves From Pennsylvania

five thousand to four hundred and six thousand, and before the end of our period had a million people. In the second decade Indiana grew from twenty-four thousand to one hundred and forty-seven thousand, and in the third decade Illinois witnessed a similar growth.

The migration followed in a general way the parallels of latitude. While the Lutherans of Pennsylvania were pouring into central Ohio, Indiana and Illinois, those of Maryland were following a similar line of march a little farther south, those of New York were following the line of the Erie Canal, those of Virginia were moving into southern Ohio and Kentucky, and those of the Carolinas were pouring into Tennessee or finding their way north of the Ohio River.

Other Lines of Migration

As the hardy Lutheran pioneer pressed forward with his family to encamp on the frontier and win a home for his children and at the same time to engage in the great American epic of subduing the wilderness and winning a continent for his nation, he carried with him his long rifle and his well-poised axe and usually also his Bible and his faith. Very early in this period, therefore, calls began to come back from the Lutherans on the frontier asking for spiritual help and inviting Lutheran pastors to come and minister to them in sermon and sacrament.

Calls for Spiritual Help

These calls met a response. For a long time it had been the custom of the ministers who lived nearest to the frontiers to undertake missionary tours on their

own initiative traveling into remote districts, gathering together the scattered members of the Lutheran household, preaching the Word and administering the sacraments. Then, too, a great volume of pioneer work in the Lutheran Church west of the Alleghanies was done by men who entered the field as "independent preachers," without any synodical connection, to answer the call of the destitute Lutheran frontiersmen. Such were Anton Lütge, John Stauch, J. M. Steck, S. Muckenhaupt, J. C. Rebenach, J. Mechling, J. G. Lampbrecht. All of these men afterwards became members of the Pennsylvania Ministerium or the Ohio Synod. Hundreds of flourishing congregations today trace their beginnings to this sort of volunteer missionary effort. But this work of home missions, as we call it today, was officially undertaken by the Ministerium of Pennsylvania in 1804. The plan of the synod, as it went into effect in 1806, provided for the sending out of two or three men each year during the summer months. These traveling missionaries were members of the synod, were commissioned and paid by the synod, and rendered their reports to the synod.

The Response

One of the eminent names among these earliest home missionaries is that of Paul Henkel. Year after year, beginning in 1810, he left his charge at New Market, Virginia, and explored and supplied the thinly settled parts of Ohio, Kentucky, Western Virginia and Pennsylvania. His diary tells of his contact with the camp-meetings and the nervous revival epidemics that burned over the Cumberland country at that time. An-

other of these devoted missionaries was John Stauch. After extensive labors in the Valley of Virginia he was commissioned by the Pennsylvania Ministerium in 1793 and began a remarkable career of missionary work in the western part of Pennsylvania and especially in Ohio. Still another energetic home missionary of this period was John Michael Steck. His son, Michael John, located at Lancaster, Ohio, in 1816 and by appointment of the Ministerium made extensive missionary tours. About the same time the name of C. F. Heyer appears on the list of these traveling missionaries, and he carried the work into Indiana and Kentucky.

Henkel, Stauch, Steck, Heyer

These and many other indefatigable and self-denying servants of the Church helped to roll the wave of missionary operations westward abreast with the general expansion of population. They found many evidences of wickedness and spiritual destitution on the frontier, but everywhere they found pious and sincere Lutherans maintaining their daily devotions in their cabins, hungering after righteousness and fervently praying for spiritual shepherds. These they gathered into congregations and ministered to. But the work of the missionaries was sadly weakened by the lack of pastors with whom to man the congregations they organized.

Missionary Work

The needs of the home mission field were greatly increased during the second half of our period. After the close of the war with England immigration from

The Need Increases

Europe, particularly from Germany, set in strongly again. The business depression in the East sent many of these immigrants forward to the inviting farm lands on the western frontier. In this way the missionary task of the Lutheran Church was vastly augmented.

The numerical increase of the Church during this period, though not so striking a characteristic as her geographical expansion, nevertheless kept pace with the increase of the general population. In the twenty-five years preceding 1800 the Church added about ten thousand members but in the twenty-five years following 1800 she added more than twenty thousand, so that by the year 1825 there were nearly forty-five thousand members in the Lutheran fold. Large numbers of Lutherans were scattered about without membership in any Church and without any kind of spiritual oversight. They had severed the bonds that tied them to their spiritual guides in Europe and had failed to form similar bonds in America. That these were not gathered in was due to the lack of men to organize the congregations and become their pastors. The system of traveling missionaries was inadequate. It reached only a small fraction of the needy and its ministrations were very irregular. It soon became evident that if the Church in this country was to maintain her place in the spiritual life of the land and discharge her responsibilities to her own people, further synodical organization was necessary.

Growth of the Church

The first synod to be organized after the Ministerium of Pennsylvania was the New York Ministerium. This

organization took place before Muhlenberg's death. Already in 1773 his son Frederick, who was then a pastor in New York, called a conference of all the Lutheran preachers in that colony. But the organization thus projected did not begin until 1786 when J. C. Kunze, Muhlenberg's son-in-law, succeeded in forming the Ministerium. The first meeting was held at Albany and consisted of three pastors and two laymen. The second meeting was not held until 1792. The organization grew very slowly. The main stream of German immigration had long before been diverted to Pennsylvania and did not return to New York. Moreover, the up-State pastors were spiritual heirs of Berkenmeyer and cherished an aversion to everything that came from Halle. But the new spirit that prevailed after the founding of the Republic permitted rapid growth of the Synod and before Kunze's death in 1807 it numbered fourteen pastors on its roll. The efforts of this Synod to extend its work northward into Canada proved fruitless, as the pastors sent thither one after another left the Lutheran Church for the Episcopal Church. Before the close of our period, however, a successful system of traveling missionaries was introduced and a long row of counties in the central and northwestern parts of the state were occupied.

New York Ministerium

Shortly after the turn of the century another Lutheran Synod came into being, this time in the South. For more than half a century there had been a number of Lutheran settlements in North Carolina. Many of these Lutherans had come from Pennsylvania but some

had come directly from Germany. Pastors had been furnished them at first by the Consistory of Hanover in Germany. But the Revolutionary War cut off this source of ministerial supply and soon the Lutherans of North Carolina felt the necessity of some kind of organization among themselves that would not be under any foreign supervision but would have power to examine and ordain men to the ministerial office. When therefore in 1800 and 1801 a tide of fanatical revivalism threatened to sweep over their congregations, the pastors decided to form an organization to protect themselves and their people against false views and practices. The result was the North Carolina Synod, organized at Salisbury in 1803 by the four pastors, Arends, Storch, Miller and Paul Henkel, together with fourteen lay delegates. The synod soon took in the ministers and churches of South Carolina and Tennessee and southern Virginia. It grew rapidly and before 1820 numbered twenty-six ministers and catechists, about sixty congregations and more than six thousand members. Beginning in 1810 this synod, like the others, appointed each year a home missionary to organize into congregations the scattered Lutherans in North Carolina, southern Virginia, Tennessee, and South Carolina. It thus became the mother of all the southern synods.

North Carolina Synod

The New York Ministerium and the North Carolina Synod had been formed without making a breach in the ranks of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania. They were constituted of congregations that lay outside the

bounds of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania and with two exceptions their pastors had not been connected with the old synod. But the fourth synod to be organized was formed on the territory of the Ministerium itself.

Dividing the Pennsylvania Ministerium

As the missionaries were sent out year after year to follow the westward advance of the American frontier, to preach the Word and administer the Sacraments to the Lutherans in "the West" and "the South," as they took up their permanent abodes farther and farther from Philadelphia and eastern Pennsylvania, it became increasingly difficult for these missionaries and pastors to make the long journeys that would have been necessary to attend the meetings of the original synod. Still they longed to take counsel with their brethren and to have a part in the deliberations for the general good. The Ministerium therefore had early established "Special or District Meetings" at which the pastors and laymen of a particular region could meet as often as they desired for mutual edification and for counsel on certain subjects. In 1801 the Ministerium had provided for seven such special conference districts. The "Western District" embraced all the territory west of Chambersburg. In 1812 the Lutheran pastors in Ohio organized their own conference. In 1817 they asked permission to establish their own ministerium. It was felt that this was necessary in order to secure candidates for the ministry and in order to stimulate interest among the congregations

The Ohio Synod

and bring about a more rapid development of their resources. The request was not granted but permission was given to license candidates for one year. But the next year the Ohio Conference quietly organized itself into the "Synod of Ohio and Adjacent States," and proceeded to ordain three men to the ministry. The first president of the new synod was the merited missionary Stauch, and the first secretary was Paul Henkel, who had traversed all of Ohio in a two-wheeled cart. The new body numbered at first fourteen ministers and eight lay delegates. The organization is known today as the "Joint Synod of Ohio and Other States."

But the constituency of the body was completely changed after a generation. The elements that had formed the Synod of Ohio in 1818 separated from the body during the middle period of the nineteenth century and formed other synods in that state, so that today only the historic organization and not the present constituency of the "Joint Synod" can be traced to a "Special Conference" of the Pennsylvania Ministerium. The spiritual descendants of the original "Synod of Ohio and Adjacent States" are today embraced in the Ohio Synod of the United Lutheran Church.

The Synod of Maryland and Virginia, organized in 1820, also grew out of one of the "Special Conferences" of the Pennsylvania Ministerium. This Conference had met at various places in Virginia since 1793. But that kind of organization proved inadequate to meet the needs of the growing Lutheran population of Maryland and the Virginia Valley. When, therefore,

the pastors of Maryland and Virginia asked permission to organize a new synod on their territory the Ministerium of Pennsylvania granted the request in view of the immediate prospect of a more inclusive fraternity to be known as the General Synod. The organization took place at Winchester, Virginia, in October, 1820.

Synod of Maryland and Virginia

Three months before that the Tennessee Synod had been formed by four of the pastors of the North Carolina Synod. The founders of this organization, two of whom were sons of Paul Henkel, could not agree with their synodical brethren on the question of licensing clergymen, and because of the laxity in doctrine and practice in the older synods they strongly objected to the forming of a General Synod. So they withdrew and organized their own synod.

Tennessee Synod

In 1824 another division took place in the ranks of the North Carolina Synod. This time in peace and brotherly love the pastors and churches in South Carolina withdrew and formed the South Carolina Synod. The next year a number of pastors serving churches in Pennsylvania west of the Susquehanna River, without the consent of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania, organized themselves into the West Pennsylvania Synod in time to attend the meeting of the General Synod that year. Still another synod dating its origin in this period is the Virginia Synod. In 1829 eight of the pastors belonging to the

South Carolina, West Pennsylvania and Virginia Synods

Maryland Synod but serving churches in Virginia responded to the special needs of their churches and proceeded in a most friendly spirit to organize their own synod.

This progressive formation of new synods was very tangible evidence of the expansion of the Church in this country. It was in reality a further development of Muhlenberg's organization and at the same time an expression of the new spirit of the times, the spirit of American aggressiveness and independence from Europe. It took place for the most part in peace and amity and it resulted in much greater efficiency in the Church as a whole, establishing one after another new centers of light and power and occupying one after another the new territories reached by geographical expansion. Then, too, this process of multiplying synodical organizations logically pointed forward to some more inclusive union in the Church that would unify the parts in the interest of conservation and would overcome the division and weakening effects that might have resulted from the synodical movement.

Significance of New Synods

CHAPTER X

PROBLEMS

With the steady expansion of her borders and the rapid increase in her numbers the Lutheran Church in the early days of the Republic found herself seriously confronted, as we have seen, with the age-long problem of men for the ministry. But even more serious than this were several problems growing out of internal conditions in the Church. These sadly interfered with her peace and progress and at times threatened her very life.

First, there was the problem of rationalism. The close contact of America with France during the Revolutionary War and during the making of the nation left a deposit of rationalistic thought among Americans that perpetuated itself far into the youth of the Republic. The Lutherans did not escape the infection. Then, too, the spirit of rationalism had crept into Halle and the other German universities, and before Muhlenberg's death there came to America a group of Lutheran ministers who knew not Spener and Francke and Muhlenberg. The results were evident in the Church. More than one generation was required to sever completely these ties of European thought and blot out of the Lutheran Church in America the last vestiges of unevangelical theology.

Rationalism

In 1792 the constitution of the Pennsylvania Ministerium was revised. All references to the Lutheran

confessions were stricken out. The more prominent members of the Ministerium were outspoken in their Lutheranism, but the omission from the constitution of all mention of the Augsburg Confession and the other symbolical books was a striking concession to the unevangelical spirit of the times. The candidates for ordination were pledged only to preach the Word of God in its purity, according to law and Gospel as presented in the catechism and hymn-book. The constitutions of the congregations remained unchanged, but some very pronounced forms of rationalism were current in the rural districts of the Ministerium. There was no express antagonism to the distinctive Lutheran doctrines but a general toning down of Lutheran convictions and many inconsistencies with sound Lutheran practice. Even from the young congregations in Ohio came complaints that their pastors were not faithful to the old Lutheran doctrine. This spirit continued throughout this period.

In Pennsylvania

In New York the infection of rationalism was felt much more strongly than in Pennsylvania. This was largely due to the great influence of Dr. Quitman. While Dr. Kunze lived he stood at the helm in the New York Ministerium and the spirit of unbelief was held in abeyance. Dr. Kunze was the most learned and influential man in the whole Church. He was very active in training men for the ministry. In 1804 he wrote to his brethren in Pennsylvania that he thought no member of his synod would deny the Redeemer, but that some of them gave him reason for apprehension.

But three years later Dr. Kunze died and Dr. Quitman became president of the New York Ministerium and so continued for twenty-one years. Quitman was a disciple of Semler in Halle and was a thorough-going rationalist. In 1812 he prepared an English catechism as a substitute for Luther's. It was published with the consent and approval of the synod. It denied the inspiration and authority of the Bible and set at nought all the main doctrines of the Lutheran Confessions and the Apostles' Creed. A few years later he published a hymnal and liturgy. This also was un-Lutheran and un-evangelical throughout, but it was officially accepted by the synod. Quitman was a man of commanding presence and great intellectual force, and as president of the synod and instructor of ministerial candidates he scattered seeds of rationalism that could not be entirely uprooted for more than half a century. But his skillful effort to Americanize German rationalism was heroically parried by some of the younger and more evangelical spirits of the New York Ministerium. The Quitman Catechism did not sell. A new English edition of Luther's Catechism was issued and widely introduced. New leadership was provided, and before the end of this period the European spirit of scepticism and unbelief was exorcised from the New York Ministerium.

In New York

In North Carolina also the same problem had to be met. Many of the Lutherans there had come from the rural districts of Pennsylvania. Long before the organization of the synod the pastors of North Carolina had secured the publication of the "Helmstaedt

Catechism" of Dr. Velthusen. This was used for many years in North Carolina and was known as the "North Carolina Catechism." It was full of the spirit of German rationalism, and the consequence was that the Lutheran consciousness of the people in that state became confused and blurred. When the Synod was organized in 1803 neither pastors nor laymen felt any necessity for a confessional statement and the constitution of the synod did not contain the word Lutheran or any direct mention of the confessional writings of the Church. Quitman's rationalistic liturgy was officially recommended to the congregations using English and for the Germans the work of the German rationalist Seiler was used. But this synod soon caught the spirit of American independence and freed itself from European neology more rapidly than its northern neighbors. It was the first synod since Muhlenberg's time to make official avowal of the Augsburg Confession. This it did in the new constitution of 1818 and it is significant that this constitution also provided that only ministers ordained or licensed by a synod in the United States could be admitted to the Synod of North Carolina.

In North Carolina

The second problem that vexed the Church in the youth of the Republic was unionism. This was the religious counterpart of the national spirit. The general tendency among the American Churches to obliterate historic traits and to cultivate closer relations with others left its marks on the Lutheran Church also. The spirit of unionism was partly the offspring of religious indifference. Rationalism had shattered con-

fessional convictions, and the points of difference among the denominations were obscured. Intellectual indolence and motives of expediency also played their part in the unionistic movement. In that day of great religious torpor when the ministry itself was poorly educated and largely secularized, union with other church bodies seemed the line of least resistance. The widespread revival at the beginning of the century also had much to do with it. Even so staunch a Lutheran as Paul Henkel had to be warned against participating in camp-meetings on his missionary tours. But doubtless the strongest factor in deadening the self-consciousness of the Lutheran Church and overcoming her intrinsic conservatism of doctrine and practice was the infectious spirit of general good-will and co-operation that was so evident in the growing young nation and in all its parts. It was an "era of good feeling" and both Church and nation showed remarkable zeal in obliterating all differences among their constituent elements and emphasizing the features and interests common to all. For the Lutheran Church it meant the decline of her denominational consciousness, and for a time the new American impulse to union threatened the very existence of the Church in this country.

Unionism

In New York the tendency was towards union with the Episcopal Church. Even Dr. Kunze fell under the charm of the idea and in 1797 it was resolved that on account of "the intimate relation subsisting between the English Episcopal and Lutheran churches, the identity of their doctrine and the near approach of

their discipline," the Ministerium of New York would never acknowledge a new Lutheran Church in places where her members could partake of the services of an Episcopal Church. Negotiations were begun looking towards organic union of the two bodies and episcopal ordination of the Lutheran pastors. The negotiations were not completed but a number of individual congregations went over from the Lutheran to the Episcopal Church. There was great need for closer union among the Lutherans themselves to stimulate their denominational consciousness and save the life of their Church.

In New York

In Pennsylvania union was projected with the Reformed Church. Many of the church buildings in the rural districts of that state had been erected by the common enterprise of Lutheran and Reformed people. In not a few instances the congregations worshipping in the same building were united under one church council and merely alternated their services between Lutheran and Reformed pastors. Lutherans and Reformed co-operated in managing the affairs of Franklin College at Lancaster and they had no compunctions about permitting a Catholic priest to be included among the trustees. The religious magazine founded by the Ministerium in 1812 made a special bid for Reformed and Moravian subscribers. In 1817 appeared the "Common Hymn-Book" in German which took the place of the Muhlenberg Hymnal, was endorsed by Dr. Quitman, and was recommended by both the Lutheran and Reformed Synods in Pennsylvania. The next year active

In Pennsylvania

efforts were afoot among these two churches to establish a Joint Theological Seminary, and many ministers in both churches favored the organic union of the two bodies. It may be that this trend towards union among these two conservative German-speaking bodies was partly due to their common reaction against rationalistic influences, but more weighty were the motives of expediency growing out of intermarriage, propinquity, and a common language, and the fact that the vast majority of people and pastors knew little and cared less about the questions at issue between them.

The North Carolina Synod reflected the unionistic tendencies both of Pennsylvania and New York. Union churches for Lutherans and Reformed were common among the Germans in the territory of that synod, and "common" hymn-books and catechisms were in use among the congregations. In a book prepared to celebrate the tercentenary of the Reformation in 1817, Pastor Schober, one of the leaders of the synod, explained the articles of the Augsburg Confession in a Reformed sense and declared that among all the denominations of "those who worship Jesus as God there is nothing to prevent a hearty union." This book was endorsed and published by the synod. Moreover, the Lutheran Synod fraternized closely with the Episcopal Church in the South and both Episcopalians and Moravians officiated frequently for Lutheran congregations.

In North Carolina

In the third decade of the century, for reasons that will appear later, the tendency among Lutherans to lose their identity and merge with other Churches

began to decline and the younger synods organized after the second decade did not feel it much.

But there was a third difficulty that impaired the progress of the Church in this period. It was the language problem. The polyglot character of the Lutheran Church in the world has been the cause of just pride to Lutherans, but the polyglot character of the Lutheran Church in America has been the cause of many dark pages in her history. Muhlenberg, as we have seen, preached in whatever language the people could best understand, and for that purpose mastered and used three languages. The generation that inherited his spirit followed the same policy. Dr. Kunze was quite active in preparing literature to meet the needs of the English-speaking parts of the Church. But with the development of the national American spirit in the youth of the Republic the process of anglicizing the Church became much more rapid, and the conscious efforts to sever the linguistic ties that bound them to Germany excited intense feeling at many points during this period.

The Language Problem

Those who resisted the anglicizing current of the times were entrenched in the congregational and synodical organizations and the result was much bitter strife and great losses to the Church. The Synod in Pennsylvania changed its name in 1792, and introduced the word "German" into its title. In 1805 at Germantown it took action forbidding the use of any other language than German in synodical sessions. But the English-speaking part of the congregation of St.

Michael's in Philadelphia, led by General Peter Muhlenberg, demanded that a third pastor be called who could officiate in English. By a narrow margin in a congregational vote their proposition was defeated. Thereupon they founded St. John's English Lutheran Church. Ten years later the controversy broke out afresh in the same congregation. This time it was carried into the courts, and this time the German party lost. The argument that seems to have convinced the court was based on the necessity of cultivating the American spirit and the futility of depending on the immigration of a "turbid current" of aliens for the future progress of any Church in the Republic. The times were not favorable to the maintenance of national distinctions.

Severing Language Ties

Other sections of the Church experienced the same trouble. At Lancaster Dr. H. E. Muhlenberg's congregation refused to contribute to the synodical treasury until young men should be educated to preach in English. In the congregations in the New York Ministerium English gained the ascendency more rapidly than in Pennsylvania, and in 1807 became the official language of the body. Very similar was the course of affairs in the South.

Some of the arguments made in the course of the controversies on the language question seem amazing when viewed in the light of the developments in the last century. The Lutheran Church, it was said, cannot exist apart from the German language. The English language is the language of the Episcopal and

Amazing Arguments

Presbyterian Churches and is too shallow to furnish an adequate translation of Lutheran doctrinal and devotional literature. It was observed that the children of German parents, as they learned to speak English, became frivolous and indifferent in matters of religion. Then, too, much of the rationalism that made its way into the Lutheran Church in our country clothed itself in the English language, and for that reason many good people regarded the German as the bulwark of sound faith and evangelical theology. For example, the "Evangelisches Magazin," established by the Pennsylvania Ministerium in 1812, had the two-fold purpose of "conserving the German language and fighting rationalistic unbelief."

These persistent efforts to withstand the introduction of English, so contrary to the spirit of Luther and so opposed to the policy of the Muhlenbergs, alienated some of the best friends of the Lutheran Church and drove thousands of young people into the churches of other denominations, so that many of the strongest Presbyterian, Episcopalian and Methodist churches of today owe their origin to this fact.

Losses Due to Language

Such were the internal problems with which the Church had to deal in severing European ties. Some of them were fraught with possibilities of death. In the providence of God they were all solved in course of time. Their proper solution meant the permanence of the Lutheran Church in her own identity in this

The Problems Solved

country. The bonds that tied American Lutherans to European rationalism were severed. Religious indifferentism ceased. Unionism vanished or ceased to threaten. Gradually, though reluctantly in many quarters, the use of English as the language of the nation came to be accepted as a fact. The Church returned to her own never again to accept the theological dictates from abroad.

CHAPTER XI

A GENERAL ORGANIZATION

As the American nation expanded, the newly formed States and Territories were bound to the older States and to each other by the Federal Government. This was at once the cause and the effect of the spirit of common nationality so strongly manifest in the youth of the Republic. Likewise in the Lutheran Church in this period, geographical expansion and the progressive organization of new synods logically called for some general organization that would answer to the sense of unity and common brotherhood that still existed among Lutherans. Such an organization was demanded by the times in order to overcome the divisive effects of the synodical movement, to conserve the denominational consciousness, and to prevent absorption in more compact Church bodies. Moreover, the acute need for more men and better trained men in the ministry called for common action. What was more natural than for the Lutherans of America as they loosened the ties of relationship with Europe to seek closer relations among themselves?

The Need

The initiative came from the mother Synod of Pennsylvania. It was in 1818, just after the tercentenary of the Reformation, that the first move was made. The New York Ministerium and the North Carolina Synod were at that time the only synods outside of the Pennsylvania Ministerium. But there were prospects of

territorial divisions within the Pennsylvania Ministerium. The Ohio Conference was taking steps towards organizing a new synod, and similar action seemed probable on the part of the Conference of Maryland and Virginia, the Conference of West Pennsylvania, and even the Lancaster Conference. Accordingly the Ministerium acted upon a suggestion that had been made seven years before by the Lutherans of North Carolina who felt the weakness of Lutheran organization as compared with the compact organization of the Episcopal Church. It resolved that "in its judgment it would be well if the different Evangelical Lutheran Synods in the United States were to stand, in some way or other, in true union with one another." At the next meeting "A Proposed Plan" of union was adopted and ordered to be submitted to the other synods.

A "Plan of Union"

The convention for the organization of a General Synod was held in Hagerstown, Maryland, October 22, 1820. Representatives were present from four synods, Pennsylvania, New York, North Carolina and Maryland and Virginia. Only Ohio and Tennessee were not represented. The pastors of the Ohio Synod objected to the general organization because they feared a hierarchical trend and the possible prevalence of the English language in the new body. They had doubtless observed that the strengthening of the Federal Government of the nation was taking place at the expense of the powers of the States.

A General Synod Organized

The little Tennessee Synod also objected to the rule of majorities in general Church affairs and to the fact that no mention was made of the Bible or the Augsburg Confession. But the four synods represented organized and drew up a constitution. A year later, October, 1821, three of the four Synods having adopted the constitution, all except New York, the General Synod of the Lutheran Church in the United States held its first regular convention at Frederick, Maryland.

The spirit and purpose of the general body are evident from the constitution and the proceedings of the first convention. It is specified that the General Synod may *propose* to the District Synods "books and writings such as catechisms, forms of liturgy, collections of hymns, or confessions of faith," but it specifically disclaims the "power of *prescribing* uniform ceremonies of religion." It provides for the organization of new District Synods with the consent of the general body. The General Synod has power to advise on disputed points of doctrine or discipline when cases are appealed to it by individuals, congregations or synods. It is also authorized to devise plans for seminaries of education and missionary institutions as well as to provide aid for ministers and their families, and to take measures to "promote the practice of brotherly love and the furtherance of Christian concord." All this represented only a slight surrender of sovereignty on the part of the individual synods and ministeriums. It aimed only to effect such a federation of Lutheran

Its Spirit and Purpose

bodies as would prevent discord and schisms among them and would provide the means and agencies necessary to foster the spirit of Lutheran unity, to occupy the field more efficiently, and to fortify the Church's ranks against dissipation.

The first business convention of the General Synod in 1821 proceeded to carry out the purposes for which it was organized. Among the various actions was one concerning a theological seminary. Already at the organization meeting in 1820 a committee had been appointed to form a plan for such an institution. In 1821 action was taken deferring for several years the actual establishment of the Seminary, but recommending that in the meantime the congregations be prepared for the enterprise and that books be gathered for the library of the institution. The subject of home missions was also considered and it was earnestly recommended to the several district synods that they send missionaries to answer "the earnest calls of the children of the Church and others, resident on our frontier countries." From these and other actions looking towards the intensive occupation of the field and the supply of an educated ministry for the Church, it was evident that the General Synod, even in its small beginnings, was organized for action and intended to face aggressively the tasks confronting the whole Church.

Its First Convention

The organization of the General Synod assured the independence of the Lutheran Church in this country. It was fundamentally opposed to the schemes of union

with the Reformed in Pennsylvania and with the Episcopalians in North Carolina and elsewhere. It operated as an emphatic protest against the rationalistic tendencies in New York and other parts of the Church, and presented an effectual barrier to the further importation into the Church of European deistic theology. It saved the Church from becoming rationalized as she became anglicized and Americanized. It maintained the historical connection with the fathers and stood for the confession of a positive faith. Its first constitution, it is true, did not mention the Lutheran Confessions, else it would not have been adopted by the constituent synods. But already before the end of this period, in the oath prescribed in 1825 for the professors in her theological seminary and in the model constitution for District Synods drawn up in 1829, the General Synod was working vigorously towards a specific definition of the Lutheran faith. It furnished a medium through which the inevitable organization of new synods might minister to greater efficiency rather than greater weakness in the Church as a whole. It provided the means and agencies for prosecuting independently the educational, missionary, and charitable operations of the Lutheran Church. Above all, it gave to the Church in this country, even to those who did not at once become members of the General Synod, a nation-wide outlook and interest and a sense of permanent citizenship in this Republic. As Dr. Krauth expressed it, "The General Synod was a declaration on the part of the Lutheran Church in America that she had no

Its Influence

intention of dying or moving, that she liked this Western World and meant to live here."

Certainly the size of the General Synod in its infancy is no measure of its significance. The General Synod was the logical outcome of the process of organization begun by Muhlenberg in 1748. Theoretically the polity of the Lutheran Church in America is congregational. But just as the common necessities of the congregations led to Muhlenberg's organization of a synod so, seventy years later, the larger exigencies of the Church in this country led to the organization of the General Synod. The Church that Muhlenberg was determined to plant had been bearing abundant fruit after its kind and was about to scatter new seeds widely over the face of the earth.

A Logical Development

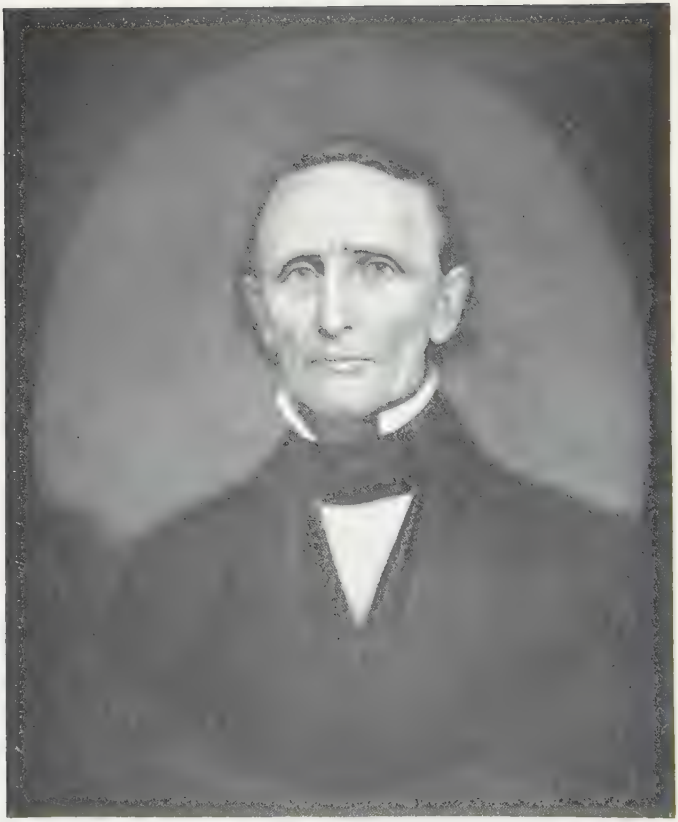
Thus the Lutheran Church in America was provided with a general organization, which, like that of the national government, was destined to grow in power and influence with the passing of the years. That it should have come into being in this period of our history is easily understood. It paralleled the movement in the life of the nation. Just at the time that the American nation felt sufficiently solid and secure to issue its *noli me tangere* in the form of the Monroe Doctrine, the Lutheran Church in America achieved a federal organization calculated to bid defiance to the agents of ecclesiastical interference and intended to maintain its independent existence among the other Church bodies. As Washington and Jefferson and particularly Monroe had

Its Significance

broken European bonds and announced to the European nations that our national policy was "America for Americans," so the organization of a General Synod proclaimed to the religious world that the Lutheran Church in this country had reached its majority and announced the policy of "The Lutheran Church for Lutherans." One was not more significant than the other. Both were the outgrowth of the same spirit, the rising American spirit of independence and enterprise.

But the new organization encountered many difficulties in its early life, and for many years its "general" character was more a promise and a policy than a fact. After the organization meeting in 1820 the New York Synod allowed its membership to lapse for sixteen years. This was due to the indifference of most of the members of that body who regarded the project of a general Lutheran organization as impractical and hopeless. Even the Pennsylvania Ministerium withdrew temporarily from the movement. This was owing to strenuous hostility to the General Synod on the part of the congregations in the rural districts. Their prejudices had been played on by unscrupulous people outside of the Church until they were convinced that the new organization would be nothing less than "an aristocratic spiritual congress," a union of Church and State, that would rob them of their dearly bought liberties and impose on them the horrors of an ecclesiastical despotism. Theolcgical seminaries were represented as useless and costly evils that would sim-

Difficulties Encountered



S. S. SCHMUCKER, D.D.

ply impose more taxes on the farmers. Moreover, it was felt that the General Synod would interfere with the cherished plans for union with the Reformed. In order to prevent further difficulties within the Ministerium the city congregations and the leaders yielded to the empty fears of the country districts and, while declaring their unaltered conviction of the propriety and utility of the General Synod, voted to withdraw from the organization until those congregations should see their mistake. But thirty years passed before the Ministerium returned to the General Synod.

The withdrawal of the mother synod, which constituted more than half of the Church, was a severe blow to the infant General Synod, and for a time threatened its life. The men of New York felt that the whole project had failed and refused to consider it seriously. The Ohio Synod, which had about decided to join the movement, reconsidered and never came in. It was a critical point in the history of the Church, and the General Synod was only saved by the vigorous exertions of Rev. S. S. Schmucker, then only twenty-four years old. His father was President of the Pennsylvania Ministerium when the "Plan of Union" was adopted. The young man was the best educated young man in the Lutheran Church and was profoundly impressed with the need for a revival of confessional subscription and for an educated ministry in the Church. Particularly concerned, therefore, to save the General Synod from dissolution, in 1823 he succeeded in inspiring the dis-

The Pennsylvania Ministerium Withdraws

couraged synods and prevailing on them to send delegates. At the meeting in that year there were delegates from Maryland and Virginia, from North Carolina and from Ohio. There was also a delegation from the Conference of West Pennsylvania, which did not sympathize with the attitude of the rest of the Pennsylvania Ministerium and which joined the general body in 1825 as the West Pennsylvania Synod.

The General Synod Saved

Thus the General Synod and the ideals for which it stood were kept alive. Its significance for the period in which it was organized, as we have seen, went far beyond the numbers of the synods and ministers embraced in the organization. But as time passed it drew to itself most of the new synods, especially the English-speaking synods, as they were successively formed on the Church's expanding territory, and after the close of the period now under review the General Synod made rapid strides both in size and in usefulness.

CHAPTER XII

A THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY

The principal object contemplated in the organization of the General Synod was a theological seminary. The enlightened spirits of the Church saw that the permanence and independence of our Church in this country demanded that she be supplied with a learned and consecrated ministry trained in this country and trained by the Church herself. This Muhlenberg began to realize already in his day, and the need had become more acute and more evident with each new generation. In the youth of the Republic it was the foremost need of the Church. It was utterly vain to hope any longer for ministerial recruits from beyond the Atlantic. And it was perilous to depend on the schools of other denominations for the training of Lutheran ministers.

The Chief Need of the Church

Muhlenberg's own project for a theological seminary had disappeared in the smoke of the Revolutionary War. Dr. Kunze had tried to establish a school for ministerial candidates first independently, then in connection with the University of Pennsylvania in Philadelphia, and afterwards in connection with Columbia College in New York. All of these undertakings failed, but Dr. Kunze gave private instructions to many young men studying for the ministry. He translated the Catechism into English and published the first English Lutheran hymn-book, and his students were

Efforts of Dr. Kunze

the first English Lutheran pastors in America. In 1803 he was chosen by the New York Ministerium as the recognized professor of theology for the ministerial students from that body.

The Ministerium of Pennsylvania had hoped for much from Franklin College at Lancaster. But this institution was operated in conjunction with the Reformed and Moravians, and it yielded very few candidates for the Lutheran ministry. The theological seminary which it was proposed to establish jointly with the Reformed could not be realized. This synod also had to depend on private instruction for the education of its ministerial students, and from time to time it appointed pastors who were to be regarded as its official theological instructors. Likewise in North Carolina and Tennessee several efforts to begin a seminary had proved futile and candidates for the ministry were obliged to study privately under pastors.

Private Instruction

A more promising attempt was made in New York State. Pastor J. C. Hartwick, the eccentric minister at Rhinebeck and other places in New York, when he died in 1797, left his estate valued at $16,000 to found an institution for the training of missionaries to the Indians. A site was selected in Otsego County in 1812 and the work of the institution was finally begun in 1815 with Dr. E. L. Hazelius as professor in theology. The institution was not under synodical jurisdiction, and owing to difficulties with the bequest and the remote location of the school its work was seriously hindered

Hartwick Seminary

for many years. The curriculum was not purely theological but general, and at first it did not reach a wide constituency.

But the Church was growing. The home mission field was calling loudly for more laborers. The men who had been born and educated in Germany were gradually passing off the scene. No new supplies came from that source and none were sought. The chief place for the training of an American Lutheran ministry continued to be the parsonages of busy American pastors. Dr. Helmuth and Dr. Schmidt in Philadelphia were specially active in this work and trained many of the leaders of the next generation of pastors. Dr. Geissenhainer in New York, H. E. Muhlenberg and his successor, Christian Endress in Lancaster, George Lochman in Harrisburg, David F. Schaffer in Frederick—all kept continuous streams of private students passing under their care. Jacob Goering had as many as twenty-two such students in the course of his pastorate at York and elsewhere. In many cases the parsonages furnished the ministerial candidates as well as their training. F. D. Schaeffer instructed his four sons in theology, and Paul Henkel did the same for his five sons.

Prominent Teachers

Many of the ministers trained in this way rose to places of great eminence and usefulness in the Church. But during the period now under review this method of ministerial education became increasingly burdensome to the busy pastors who undertook it and increasingly inadequate to meet the needs of the times. The

work of providing the ministerial candidates with an education of proper range and depth was clearly the work of a special institution, and in that period such an institution called for the support of a general organization of the Church. The founding therefore of the first official synodical Lutheran Seminary in this country waited for the organization and action of the General Synod. It came in 1826. Andover Seminary had been established in 1808 in protest against the Unitarianism of Harvard. It was the first Protestant seminary in this country, but in less than twenty years seventeen such schools had come into existence. American Protestantism had come to realize that the individual churches must organize and act if they would perpetuate their ministries.

Demand for a Seminary

Among the young men of the Lutheran Church at that time was one who discerned the signs of the times and was particularly zealous for an institution of theological education for the whole Lutheran Church. It was S. S. Schmucker. His prodigious efforts to save the General Synod from dissolution in the dark days of 1823 were prompted primarily by his keen desire to see the Church establish her own seminary. He was concerned that the Lutheran Church should be rescued from "her former lifeless and distracted condition," and to that end he believed that the Church should revive confessional subscription to the Augsburg Confession and should found a theological seminary. Already in 1820, while he was a student in the seminary at Princeton,

S. S. Schmucker

he wrote to his father, who was then president of the Pennsylvania Ministerium, that he had visited his friend, F. C. Schaeffer, in New York, and that together they had resolved to labor "that the Augsburg Confession should again be brought up out of the dust, and everyone must subscribe to the twenty-one articles, and declare before God, by his subscription, that it corresponds with the Bible not *quantum* but *quia;* and we promised to do everything possible to promote learning among us."

Dr. Schmucker kept the subject before the Church. Through the Synod of Maryland and Virginia, of which he was a member, he called the emphatic attention of the General Synod of 1825 to the committee appointed at the organization meeting in 1820. The result was that the General Synod at that meeting adopted the plan proposed by the Synod of Maryland and Virginia, appointed the time for the opening of the seminary, elected Dr. Schmucker the professor, chose a Board of Directors, opened a book of subscriptions for the cause, selected agents to canvass the Church in this country, and appointed Dr. Benjamin Kurtz to go to Europe to secure books for the library and funds for the endowment. At the same time the General Synod placed the seminary on the unmistakable basis of subscription to the Augsburg Confession by declaring: "In this seminary shall be taught, in the German and English languages, the fundamental doctrines of the Sacred Scriptures as contained in the Augsburg

The General Synod Acts

Confession." This was advanced confessional ground for those times.

The seminary was begun in 1826 and was located at Gettysburg. If the Synods of Pennsylvania and New York had been in the General Synod at that time the school would probably have been established either in Philadelphia or New York City. Gettysburg was chosen as most centrally located for the Lutheran Synods then in the General Synod. But many of the prominent individuals in the two older synods co-operated in establishing the Seminary. And the Pennsylvania Ministerium sent many of its students to the Seminary and long afterwards transferred its interest in Franklin College to the College at Gettysburg.

The Seminary Begins

The institution served the purpose for which it was founded. Dr. Schmucker's talents and learning pointed him out as a teacher. Before going to Princeton he had studied at the University of Pennsylvania and under his father and Dr. Helmuth. When he took up his pastorate at New Market, Virginia, he established in the parsonage there a pro-seminary for ministerial candidates. From 1820 to 1870 he was present at every meeting of the General Synod and much of that time was its leader, writing its organic documents and determining its policies. For nearly forty years he continued to be the head of the Seminary, and during this time about five hundred men were prepared for the ministry.

Dr. Schmucker as President

During the next period of our history Dr.

Schmucker's teachings changed somewhat and became the subject of violent controversy because they ran counter to the great changes that were taking place in the Church as a whole. But no one doubts that in his work for the establishment of an official synodical seminary in this period of the Church's history he made a distinct and most vital contribution to the life of the Lutheran Church in America. It solved the problem of an adequate training for a native ministry and it even helped to increase the supply of candidates for the holy office. It was the work most fundamental to the independence and prosperity of the Church in this country. It also served notice that the Lutheran Church in America had reached her maturity and was now in a position to concentrate her resources in such a way as to effect definite results whether in the educational or missionary work of the Kingdom. It constituted very tangible evidence of the fact that the thought of Lutherans had broken through the narrow limits of synodical lines and had begun to contemplate the broader and deeper questions that arise out of the life of the Lutheran Church as a whole.

Significance of the Seminary

PART IV

A PERIOD OF INTERNAL DISCORD

(1830-1870)

Sectionalism and Sectarianism

CHAPTER XIII

GENERAL BACKGROUND

The next period of American Lutheran history that moves into our view covers another round of forty years in the life of the nation and extends from about 1830 to 1870. It is characterized politically by the growth and culmination of sectionalism in its conflict with nationality. This was the consequence of conflicting sectional interests and habits, and it created an atmosphere that profoundly affected the whole of American Christianity.

Sectionalism Versus Nationality

Already in Monroe's second term there is observable a slight but steady decline of the national consciousness. The zeal for internal improvements at national expense began to lag somewhat. The rapid growth of the West and Southwest had begun to undermine the national sentiment by bringing the sections slowly to realize that their interests were mutually conflicting. The manufacturing North, the cotton-raising South, the farming and wool-growing West, each was slowly developing self-consciousness. The merchant aristocracy of the East, the planter aristocracy of the South, and the pioneer community of the West, grew constantly more conscious of their own peculiar needs. The South began to protest against the protective tariff and the North demanded higher protection. The presidential election of 1824 brought forward the "favorite

Diversity of Interests

sons" of the sections as candidates and the election was thrown into the House of Representatives. Still, despite these indications of germinating sectionalism, President Adams succeeded in maintaining throughout his administration until 1828 the policy of a strong national government controlling the interests of all parts of the country. It was left to the administration of Jackson to raise the issue concerning slavery and thus hurl the country headlong into a new and different period of its history. The roots of the contest over the institution of slavery go back far beyond 1830, but it was not until this period that sectionalism took slavery as its weapon and opposed itself consciously to the principle of nationality, thus precipitating what may rightly be called the "era of hard feeling."

The facts here are so well known, even in their bearing upon this general topic, that we need not pause long to detail them. Their significance is plain. The Webster-Hayne debate of 1830 brought the issue squarely before the country. The ordinance of the South Carolina convention in 1832, annulling the federal tariff acts was the first effort at sectional resistance to the national principle. President Jackson's overthrow of the National Bank, and that too with the undoubted approval of the majority of American citizens, removed a strong support of the principle.

Civil War

Then the spirit of sectionalism expressed itself in terms of anti-slavery and pro-slavery, and this momentous issue absorbed all other political questions until after the Civil War. Events moved rapidly. The controversies over the

annexation of Texas, over the admission of California and Kansas, the Congressional battle over the right of petition, the doctrine of nullification in the South together with the assertion of State sovereignty and threats of secession, the abolitionism of the North and the underground railway, the filibustering expeditions of the South—these are the facts that manifest the line of deep cleavage between the sections. The economic and social interests of the South demanded slavery, the interests and feelings of the North endangered slavery. And with the actual secession of the Southern States and the appeal to arms on the part of the North, sectionalization was complete.

This was not a revolt of the South against the Nation. It was not a rebellion but a struggle between the North and the South over conflicting interests. Nor was this sectionalism healed immediately after the war. The South was treated like conquered territory. It was a long while before the "era of hard feeling" began to soften. A new nationality did not even *begin* to evolve until in 1870 the weapon that had been used to foster sectionalism and precipitate strife was permanently laid aside by the proclamation of universal manhood suffrage. Thus was terminated by constitutional amendment the conflict of sectional interests in the old sense and the United States now began that career of unrivaled nationalism on which it might have entered in 1840, had not slavery blocked the way.

Conflicting Interests Cease

Meanwhile what has been the trend in Church His-

tory? Again the line of movement runs parallel to that in politics. By the year 1830 the tendency toward unionism and co-operation among the churches had run its natural course and in the period now before us it bears its natural fruit in divisions and subdivisions. The quickening evangelical impulse that had visited American Christianity at the beginning of the century was not lost but it was itself differentiated and diffused among the denominations which had enlisted in the common tasks of the Church catholic. For their co-operation soon revealed the fact that each of them had its own methods of doing Christian work. These methods were usually inherited from an honorable past and were associated with cherished memories of godly and heroic fathers. Each Church had a history. And as the members of each denomination entered with new energy on common Christian tasks, it became more and more plainly their duty and delight to do their work in the way it had been done by pious ancestors. For they naturally came to regard the men of by-gone generations as their superiors not only in their knowledge of Christian truth and in their zeal for Christian work but also in their devotion to proper ecclesiastical standards. They sought to serve the God of their fathers after the pattern given to their fathers. Loyalty to one's own Church once more came to be regarded as a virtue, and this virtue was emphasized at the expense of the love for all Christian brethren.

Denominational Feeling Revived

This brought about a new period in the history of American Christianity. The churches began to re-

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cover their historical perspective. The lively and ever-increasing interest in the study of Church History during this second period is a striking phenomenon and it is highly significant. A study of bibliographies reveals the fact that during the thirty years preceding 1830 only forty works on Church History appeared, while in the thirty years following 1830 one hundred and fifty such works appeared. In the first period about five works are works of any importance, whereas in the second period fifty works may be regarded as of importance. It is remarkable, too, that denominational histories greatly outnumber the general works during this second period. This clearly indicates that in each denomination there was a vigorous development of its own historic life. With the recovery of the historical sense each Church began to assert itself more actively and to be more keenly conscious of a special mission of its own. What had invigorated the American Church as a whole was now indirectly infusing new vigor into its several component parts. But this time the pendulum swung across to dogmatism in religion and ethics. Schism was almost regarded as a virtue and the result was not only a parting of ways, but often an angry parting of allies, internal discords, divisions and strife. This period, therefore, is religiously a period of heated controversy and of unbrotherly strife, pre-eminently an "era of hard feeling" among the denominations.

The Historical Revival

The spirit of the times was far more narrow than denominationalism. It was sectarianism. Controversies and schisms were the order of the day. Heresy

trials abounded. Unlovely epithets filled the air. Party feeling ran high in every sphere. It expressed itself in dogged polemics. The human spirit was highly sensitive and combative in all its interests. Acrimonious debates occupied pulpits, stages of theaters, and pages of public prints. Preachers studiously cultivated a rhetoric of paradox and hyperbole so as to astonish their hearers, inflame their passions and stir their prejudices. The great immigration that swept into the Mississippi Valley and beyond during this period furnished a wide field for the competitive energies of rival denominations and left permanent deposits in buildings and institutions that to this day bear eloquent witness to the infection of sectarian intolerance that prevailed during this Middle Age of American Christianity.

An "Era of Hard Feeling"

Many new sects arose between 1830 and 1850 to multiply the internal discord of American Christianity by contributing divergent currents to the general stream of religious life. Such were Mormonism, Spiritualism, Millerism, and Adventism in its various subdivisions. Even so unlikely a place for controversy as the Unitarian denomination could not resist the infection of the times but took up the sword against the Universalists and the pantheists in its own ranks. Among the older and larger Churches all the distinctions of former times were recovered and intensified and in most cases internal divisions were born.

Sectarianism

In the first place there was a sharp differentiation

and even warlike antagonism between Protestants and Catholics. American Catholicism was reverting to her true historical position and soon ceased to have any dealings with Protestants. But Protestantism as such had also awakened and had begun an active war on her old enemy. Rome was fiercely denounced by tongue and pen. And it was not merely a battle of pulpits and pamphlets. But numerous acts of violence against Roman Catholics were committed in various quarters. Monstrous slanders were circulated. The zeal of the anti-Romans was shown by the outrage upon the convent at Charlestown (Mass.), by acts of incendiarism at Charlestown and in New York, by tar and feathers in Maine, by bloody riots in Philadelphia, and by bloodshed in Kentucky. The kindly disposition manifested towards Rome during the earlier period has never returned.

War on Catholics

The Roman Catholic Church maintained of course her external unity, but her inner harmony was marred by many a discord. Sharp conflicts in all parts of the country arose over "trusteeism," that is, the demand of the laity in the Catholic Church to manage the Church property. The administrative abilities of the American bishops were put to a sharp test and more than one congregation was put under interdict before the laity could be forced to submit. The issue continued to vex the peace of the Church for more than three decades until in 1854 trusteeism was finally eliminated. But the harmony of the Church continued to be men-

Rome's Internal Troubles

aced by the jealousies of the various orders among the monks and by the antagonisms of the different races and nationalities among the laity.

Then, too, the Protestant Episcopal Church incurred the distrust and dislike of other Churches. With the year 1830 the High Church party began to predominate over the Low Church party, thus strongly emphasizing the distinctive feature of this communion. In 1832 action was taken to exclude from Episcopal pulpits ministers who had not taken Episcopal orders. Then came the Oxford movement within the Church, and accusations of Romanism from without, and the practical isolation of the Church from all co-operation with others.

Parties in the Episcopal Church

Moreover, the close federation of the Presbyterians and Congregationalists in the famous "Plan of Union" was not permanently satisfying. And in this period came the split. The doctrinal conservatism of the Presbyterians and their difference in polity from the Congregationalists led the Old School majority of the General Assembly in 1837 to abrogate the Plan of Union and to withdraw from co-operation with the Congregationalists in missions and in ministerial education. At the same time questions of orthodoxy and of Church polity led the Old School Presbyterians to cut off the New School Presbyterians who constituted four-ninths of the entire body. Each of these two bodies split again just before the War into North and South.

Divisions Among Presbyterians

Both Methodists and Baptists began to assume sharply defined denominational attitudes and to withdraw from the unionistic benevolent societies into their own denominational organizations for benevolence. Then, when the Methodists in the South found that slaveholders could not become bishops, and when the Baptists in the South found that slaveholders would not be employed as missionaries, these two Churches also split into North and South.

Methodists and Baptists Divide

In 1844 the German Reformed Church also began to rally from the effect of the evangelical movement and began to manifest the natural influence of that movement in the renewed energy of its own proper life as well as in its deepened spirituality and enlarged Christianity activity. And in the next ten years this Church became more conscious than ever before of its denominational character and mission. In this case the stimulus came from the so-called Mercersburg movement and its able leaders, Dr. Nevin and Dr. Schaff. The result was a long, fierce struggle within the Church, nearly ending in schism, and a bitter quarrel with her ecclesiastical twin-sister, the Dutch Reformed Church.

Troubles in the Reformed Church

In our own Lutheran Church after her disastrous experience with evangelicalism the revival of denominational consciousness runs quite parallel to that in other Churches except that here again we are somewhat belated. By 1850, however, the return to historical Lutheranism was well under way. The Luth-

erans began to withdraw from co-operation with other Churches in benevolence. As early as 1841 Heyer had refused to go as a missionary under any but Lutheran auspices and henceforth there were Lutheran missions. In 1845 the Home Missionary Society of the General Synod was organized. Similar Lutheran organizations in other spheres of benevolence followed rapidly. In matters of doctrine also the day of indifferentism was over. Doctrinal hostility to the Synod of North Carolina and to the newly-formed General Synod had led the Henkels to form the Tennessee Synod, and the fires of hostility burned hot during this period. The Joint Synod of Ohio, once favorably inclined toward the Reformed Church in that State, in this period reverted strongly to historic Lutheranism, so that to this day it has been unable on account of its conservative and confessional standpoint to form a lasting union with any of the larger general bodies of Lutherans. In 1839 there arrived in Missouri a group of Saxon Lutherans imbued with a double portion of the spirit of confessionalism. Their fiery zeal for the whole body of Lutheran doctrine was made even more intense by the ardor of their piety. This union of denominational zeal and religious fervor gave extraordinary power of propagandism, so that the few shiploads of Saxon pilgrims have grown into the largest of Lutheran bodies, the Synodical Conference. They have helped very materially to raise the general standard of confessional loyalty in this country. It was in that same

Denominational Zeal Among Lutherans

year, 1839, that a body of "Old Lutherans," separatists from the Prussian Union in Germany, came to this country and shortly thereafter formed the Buffalo Synod.

These are some of the factors that contributed to and manifested the revival of Lutheran consciousness during this period. In part it was the result of the new vigor imparted to all American Christianity by the religious movement earlier in the century; in part it was due to a revival of interest in the history and the doctrines of our Church; in part it was due to the importation of rigid confessionalists from Germany and Scandinavia. But this confessional reaction quite naturally led to internal controversies long continued and acute, and in its conflict with the laxity of the former period it led to further divisions of general bodies. In this respect the history of the Lutheran Church runs significantly parallel to that of other denominations and to that of American government. The era of disintegration in our Church corresponds to the era of sectionalization in the history of our country.

Causes and Effects of the Reaction

CHAPTER XIV

ORGANIZED BENEVOLENCE

One of the first witnesses to the revival of denominational zeal in this period is found in the sphere of practical benevolence. Hitherto most of the work of applying Christianity in benevolence at home and spreading it through missions abroad had been done by great national societies uniting Christians of various names. But the recovery of denominational loyalty brought with it the idea that the work of the Gospel in all its departments and in all lands is the proper function of the individual Church as such. One by one the Churches withdrew from co-operation in the nation-wide interdenominational organizations until all but a very few of these organizations permanently disappeared from American Christianity. The denominations began to prosecute the practical tasks of Christian love by organizing their own denominational agencies. In the course of a few decades these agencies of benevolence were actively ministering to the competitive spirit among the denominations and their various fractions. But for the Lutheran Church it meant the steady development of her benevolent and missionary operations until at the close of the period they were thoroughly organized and progressively active.

Withdrawal From Co-operation

We turn first to the work of home missions. We have seen that before the organization of the General

Synod the work of caring for the scattered and needy of our Lutheran family went forward only slowly because of the lack of men and the lack of organization. It devolved upon individual pastors or churches, and later upon separate synods unprepared for the enterprise. Most of the synods, as they came into being, adopted the plan of sending out each year one or two missionaries on preaching tours among the vacant pastorates or the spiritually destitute communities in various parts of the country. This kind of work represented great sacrifice on the part of the missionaries and it accomplished much good, particularly by calling attention to the need and by leading pastors to take up their abodes in the pioneer communities. But from the unorganized nature of the work it was necessarily of a desultory character and often temporary and ineffective.

Early Home Missions

When the General Synod was organized in 1820 one of its expressed purposes was to devise plans for "missionary institutions." This meant the organization of agencies for administering the missionary operations of the Church. But for many years the project remained only an ideal. It was not realized because of the strong antagonism at that time against the centralization of authority involved in such agencies. Not until 1835 was any kind of missionary organization effected. Then the "Central Missionary Society of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in the United States" was formed by a missionary con-

Central Missionary Society

vention of Lutheran ministers called by the General Synod. The new "Society" met in connection with the meetings of the General Synod but it was not official as its membership was of individuals and not of representatives. It undertook to establish a "system of societies throughout the Church." In 1837 it reported that it had employed six missionaries. The chief work had been done by the Rev. C. F. Heyer who had explored the chief parts of the Mississippi Valley, had traveled thousands of miles, had discovered fields for at least fifty missionaries, and had finally settled in the neighborhood of Pittsburgh. Other missionaries of the Society had labored in Boston, Western Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana and Illinois.

A similar society was connected with the Pennsylvania Ministerium and worked in harmony with the "Central Missionary Society." Ezra Keller, afterwards founder of Wittenberg College, was for a time the missionary of the old Ministerium and in 1836 he reported that he had traveled three thousand miles through Western Virginia and Ohio into Kentucky, Indiana and Illinois, laying the foundations for many of the flourishing churches in those regions today.

Ezra Keller

But the "Central Society" did not receive the support of the synods and its work had to cease, while the work of the Pennsylvania Ministerium lagged on account of the attention paid to the new enterprise of foreign missions. The next step forward in home missionary work came in 1845 when the sentiment for more

Home Mission Society

adequate organization crystallized in the formation of the "Home Missionary Society of the General Synod." This society had auxiliaries within the district synods and while it had no valid authority to act for the Church as a whole, yet for more than twenty years it carried on the general home missionary operations of the General Synod section of the Church, receiving and disbursing several thousands of dollars annually and furnishing substantial aid to hundreds of missionaries in many different states.

As a result of home missionary expansion during this period a number of new synods were born. The institutions at Hartwick and Gettysburg were furnishing an increasing number of young ministers who were able to preach in English and adapt themselves to the changing conditions of American life. These pushed out into the expanding mission fields and one by one new synods were organized. Their names indicate the successive stages in the expansion of the Church and the westward movement of her organization. The Allegheny Synod was organized in 1842 and the Pittsburgh Synod three years later. The East Ohio Synod had been formed in 1836, the Synod of Miami in 1844, the Wittenberg Synod in 1847, and the District Synod of Ohio in 1861. In Indiana we have the Olive Branch Synod in 1848 and the Northern Indiana Synod in 1855. The Northern Illinois Synod came into being in 1851 and that of Central Illinois in 1862. The Synod of Iowa dates from 1855, the Canada Synod from 1861, the Synod of Kansas from 1868, and the Synod

Many New Synods

of Nebraska from 1871. In the South we have the Southwestern Virginia Synod in 1842, the Texas Synod in 1851, the Mississippi Synod in 1855, the Georgia Synod and the Holston Synod in 1860. Meanwhile the territory of Pennsylvania has been further divided and the East Pennsylvania Synod begins in 1842, the Central Pennsylvania in 1855, the Susquehanna in 1867. Nearly all of these synods ultimately found their way into the General Synod. The organization of the Pittsburgh Synod in 1845 with its great missionary zeal and its apportionment system and the founding of Wittenberg College and Seminary that same year as a literary and theological center for the newly formed synods in that state, gave great impetus to the home missionary efforts of the General Synod.

Meanwhile there was a growing feeling that the "Home Missionary Society" should be bound up organically with the life and prestige of the General Synod itself. This delicate change was begun in 1866 when the constitution of the Society was amended to make all the delegates to the General Synod members of the Society. It was completed in 1869 at Washington, when the society transferred all its funds and interests to the General Synod and the General Synod decided to assume direct control of its home mission affairs and committed the administration of the work to a Board as its representative. Thus was established the important principle that missionary work is the Church's own proper life and business. The Board is the agent of the entire Church, it directs the

The Home Mission Board

work for the entire Church, it administers funds received from all parts of the Church and applies them to the entire field as the need and opportunity may demand and without regard to synodical bounds or the measure of synodical contributions. This method of organized benevolence continued in use throughout the remaining half century of the General Synod's life and it is the method in use today in The United Lutheran Church.

Very similar was the development of organized benevolence in the department of foreign missions. The Central Missionary Society formed in 1835, of which we have already learned, had as one of its objects "ultimately to co-operate in sending the Gospel to the heathen world." The call to definite action on the foreign mission project came through the strong appeals of the celebrated Gutzlaff of China and the indefatigable Rhenius of India. At a convention held in 1837 in connection with the meeting of the General Synod there was organized "The Foreign Missionary Society of the Evangelical German Churches in the United States." That title was used in the hope of drawing all Germans, Lutheran and Reformed, into the Society. The Ministerium of Pennsylvania was represented but the Reformed and Moravians declined to co-operate, so the title was changed from "German" to "Lutheran." The society formed auxiliaries in the various synods and proceeded to gather funds to help Rev. Dr. Rhenius at Palamcotta, India. Rhenius had been laboring under the Church

Foreign Missionary Society

Missionary Society of England, but his strong Lutheran convictions had led to his dismissal from the service of the Anglicans and his appeal to Lutherans throughout the world. Through the efforts of the Lutheran Foreign Missionary Society in America substantial aid reached his hands.

In 1840 the society determined to send its own missionary to India. Rev. C. F. Heyer was appointed. He had read the interesting reports of those first Protestant missionaries who had gone out from Halle to India.

Heyer Goes to India

But when the Society decided to transact its business through the American Board of Commissioners "Father Heyer," as he was called, resigned the appointment, declaring that he did not want to "be dependent on other Christian denominations." The day of interdenominational agencies was passing. Heyer offered himself to the Ministerium of Pennsylvania, which had maintained a separate missionary organization. After some hesitation this body decided to accept the responsibility, and Heyer sailed for India in October, 1841, the first foreign missionary sent out by the American Lutheran Church. He began work at Guntur. Two years later he was joined by Rev. Walter Gunn and his wife, who had been sent out by the general Foreign Missionary Society.

The work in India made steady progress and new missionaries were sent out from time to time. The Pennsylvania Ministerium co-operated with the Society of the General Synod. In 1850 the Rajahmundry field was accepted from the hands of the North German Mis-

sionary Society which was in financial straits. In 1857 Dr. Heyer retired from the field and devoted himself to home missionary work in Minnesota. But in 1869, after the General Council had been formed, Heyer, though seventy-seven years of age, returned to India just in time to organize the Rajahmundry field under the auspices of the General Council and thus prevent its delivery to the Church Missionary Society in England. That same year the General Synod decided to assume direct responsibility for the work of the Foreign Missionary Society both in India and in Liberia, Africa, where a mission had been started by Morris Officer in 1860. A board was appointed to have charge of the work, as had been done in the case of home missions, and so this department of benevolence was finally organized under the direct care of the Church.

Expansion in Foreign Missions

In 1853 a Church Extension Society was organized in much the same way as the Home Missionary Society and the Foreign Missionary Society had been organized. The purpose was to give strength and permanence to the missions of the Church by granting them loans without interest when necessary. The aim from the beginning was to raise a fund of $50,000. Only one-fourth of that amount was secured before 1869. Then the work was committed to a Board elected by the General Synod itself. This opened a new era in the work of Church Extension and this agency of benevolence was one of the chief means of advance in the General Synod.

Church Extension

It was in this same period that the foundations were laid for the organized eleemosynary work of the Church. Dr. W. A. Passavant, the founder of the Pittsburgh Synod, took the lead in establishing institutions of mercy. He got his inspiration from Pastor Fliedner, of Kaiserswerth, Germany. He began with a hospital in Pittsburgh in 1849. Then came an orphanage at the same place, later transferred to Zelienople and Rochester, Pennsylvania. That same year he brought some Lutheran sisters from the Kaiserswerth institutions and thus introduced the Protestant order of deaconesses into this country. Hospitals were founded in Milwaukee, Chicago and Jacksonville, Illinois, and orphanages at Mt. Vernon, N. Y., Germantown, Pa., and Boston, Mass. Altogether Dr. Passavant secured more than a million dollars for his Lutheran institutions of mercy.

Institutions of Mercy

From the growing spirit of benevolence and increasing loyalty to the Lutheran Church came the establishment of a number of new educational institutions in this period. The college at Gettysburg grew out of the necessity of preparing men for the Seminary there and began in 1832. The establishment of Wittenberg College and Seminary in 1845 has already been referred to. The South Carolina Synod had begun a Seminary at Lexington in 1830 and from this came Newberry College in 1858. The Ohio Synod began its Seminary at Canton in 1830 but the next year removed to Columbus. There in 1850 a collegiate

New Educational Institutions

department was established as Capitol University. Roanoke College in Virginia was founded in 1853 and North Carolina College at Mount Pleasant, N. C., in 1858. Meanwhile the westward expansion of home missions led to the establishment of Illinois State University in 1852 and from this came Carthage College in 1870. Difference of opinion within the General Synod led to the founding of the Missionary Institute (now Susquehanna University) at Selinsgrove, Pa., in 1858. And towards the close of our period organic division in the ranks of the General Synod resulted in the establishment of the Philadelphia Theological Seminary in 1864 and of Muhlenberg College in 1867.

A number of Church periodicals came on the scene during this period to foster the benevolent operations of the Church, to furnish light on all manner of religious and theological topics, and to add heat to the controversies of the times. During the preceding period several attempts had been made to establish official or synodical journals. Such were *Das Evangelische Magazin* of the Pennsylvania Ministerium (1812), *The Lutheran Intelligencer* of the Maryland Synod (1826), *The Lutheran Magazine* of the Western Conference of New York (1827), and *Das Evangelische Magazin* of the West Pennsylvania Synod (1829). None of these lasted more than six years. But such was the ecclesiastical zeal during the period now under review that at least five journals beginning at this time have been able to maintain themselves to the present day or until they were merged in larger under-

Church Periodicals

takings. The first of these was the *Lutheran Observer* begun in 1831 by Dr. J. G. Morris of Baltimore. Except for a few years when it was in the possession of the Maryland Synod it was privately owned, and it became the mouthpiece for the less conservative element in the General Synod. In 1843 at Columbus, Ohio, Dr. Greenwald began the *Lutheran Standard,* which still survives as the official weekly of the Joint Synod of Ohio. Dr. Passavant of Pittsburgh, unable to purchase the *Observer,* began in 1848 the *Missionary* as a means of fostering appreciation of historical Lutheranism. This was merged in 1861 with the Philadelphia *Lutheran,* which had been founded in 1856. This paper was the popular English mouthpiece for conservative Lutheran thought and practice in this period, and for many years carried the scholarly articles of Dr. Charles Porterfield Krauth, who was also its editor for several years. The *Evangelical Review,* begun at Gettysburg in 1849, is the oldest theological magazine of our Church in this country (since 1872 called the *Lutheran Quarterly*). For a long time it was the chief source of Lutheran theology for the English-speaking part of the Church. While all of these periodicals reflect the controversial spirit of those days, nevertheless they contributed immensely to the growth of Lutheran loyalty, the publishing of Lutheran information, and the progress of the organized benevolence of the Church.

In all these lines of benevolence and literary activity additional luster was given to the chronicle of Lutheran achievements in this period by large and aggressive

bodies of Lutherans newly arrived from Europe and now favorably located for the most part on the broad expanse of the Mississippi Valley. These also we must consider if we would understand the general course of our history in this period of internal discord.

New Arrivals

CHAPTER XV

IMMIGRATION AND CONFESSIONAL REACTION

Out of the strenuous rivalries and antagonisms of the denominations during this period the student of history can trace a very substantial asset accruing to the Kingdom of God in this country. The sharpening of Church loyalty that characterized these four decades was the process by which the great Head of the Church prepared His people to meet the sudden rush of a vast invasion of American shores.

The Wonder of American Church History

A veritable flood of immigration swept into the country. It amounted to far more than the entire population of the country at the birth of the Republic, and it spread itself over a great domain more than four times the size of the original colonies. This alien multitude needed to be transformed into American citizenship and gathered into the fellowship of the Christian Churches. Nothing but the utmost zeal on the part of the Churches could have sufficed for the unprecedented task. Deprecate discord and controversy as we may, it is certain that the torpid ecclesiastical uniformity of the preceding period would not have availed in the grave exigency of this period. Only the spontaneous and vigorous operation of a multitude of different agencies, each built on Church loyalty and invigorated by denominational zeal, each marshalling its own distinctive attributes and forging its own particular weapons, could have accomplished the

wonder of American Church History, by gathering into the Churches the incoming millions.

A variety of causes led to the great immigration during this period. The allurements of America were quite as strong an influence as the hardships in Europe. The attractions in front of the immigrants were the liberal homestead policy of the United States, the easy naturalization laws, the loud call for labor, the facility of transportation, and the discovery of gold in California. The impulses behind were the repeated failure of crops, the over-population of the farming districts, the destruction of local industries through the new factory system, and the misgovernment of petty European rulers. In addition there were special causes for the immigration of particular groups, such as dissatisfaction with religious conditions in the homeland and desire to join friends who were already prospering in America. All these conditions applied with peculiar force to Germany, especially after the middle of the century. A little later a strong tide of immigration set in from the Scandinavian countries. The result was an enormous increase in the Lutheran population of America.

Causes of Immigration

The great increase in German immigration began about 1840. The crest of the wave was reached in the decade preceding the Civil War, when nearly a million Germans reached American shores. After the close of the War they continued to come at the rate of about one hundred thirty thousand annually. Multitudes of

Lutheran Accessions

these German immigrants were Roman Catholics. Great numbers also went to swell the churchless and godless population of the land. But the greater portion of them were Lutherans. Their arrival imposed an enormous responsibility on the Lutheran Church in America and made a profound and indelible impression on every aspect of her history. Her numerical strength, her standing among the other Churches, her influence on the life of the nation, her benevolent and educational activities, her doctrinal position—all were deeply and beneficially modified by the new arrivals in her midst. During the first forty years in the life of the Republic the communicant membership of the Lutheran Church had multiplied threefold, just keeping pace with the general population of the country. But during this second period of forty years, while the population at large was increasing three-fold, the membership of the Lutheran Church increased more than nine-fold, reaching in 1870 a total of about 400,000 and standing fourth among the Protestant Churches.

A New Type of Lutheran

It was fortunate for the whole Church and specially significant for the course of history in this period that the advance guard of the great army of Lutheran immigrants were stoutly loyal to the Lutheran Confessions and abundantly able to give reasons for their faith. It was equally fortunate that this advance guard planted its outposts in the heart of the Mississippi Valley where the vast majority of the newcomers were to find their homes. The older Lutheran elements that had come down in the line of the Muhlenberg development

had for the most part solved their problems of rationalism and unionism, had developed their synodical organizations, and were prepared to put their hands vigorously to the task of absorbing the new arrivals. But of themselves they would never have met the responsibility imposed by the great immigration. The majority of the incoming multitudes were to belong to an entirely different branch of Lutheranism in America, which was destined to help along the confessional reaction that had already begun within the bodies of Muhlenberg descent.

This new accession to the Lutheran Church in America came into the country chiefly by way of the Gulf of Mexico and the Mississippi River. The earliest arrivals, about seven hundred and fifty in number, settled at St. Louis and in Perry County, Missouri, in February, 1839. St. Louis thus became the chief gate of entrance for the great stream of German immigration and the headquarters for the shepherding of these Lutheran multitudes into congregations. The first group of newcomers came from Saxony. They were characterized both by their intense pietism and their strict Lutheran orthodoxy. They had left Saxony because of the rationalism that prevailed in the official Church circles there. The leader of the immigrants was Martin Stephan, a man of remarkable personality and great organizing ability, who had been pastor of St. John's Church in Dresden. Feeling himself hampered by his ecclesiastical connections in Saxony, Stephan decided to gather a company of followers and emigrate. After

Beginnings in Missouri

conference and correspondence with Dr. Benjamin Kurtz, who had been in Germany to collect for the Gettysburg Seminary, he determined to lead his company to America. A glowing description of Missouri which he happened to read fixed his choice on that state as his location.

But very shortly after the Saxons arrived in Missouri Stephan was convicted of gross wickedness and expelled from the colony. The leadership of the entire settlement of Missouri Lutherans then fell upon the youthful C. F. W. Walther. He was one of the six pastors who had accompanied the first group of immigrants. From 1839 until his death in 1887 the history of Missouri Lutheranism is closely identified with the story of Walther's life and he takes his place with Muhlenberg, Schmucker and Krauth in the quartet of the most outstanding personalities in the life of the Lutheran Church in America.

Walther was born in Saxony in 1811, in an old family of ministers. He studied at the University of Leipsic where rationalism then held sway. But he belonged to a little band of students who refused to accept the popular rationalism of the day and cultivated their spiritual lives by studying the Bible and other books of devotion. In his father's library he found Luther's works and these he read with eagerness. After teaching a few years he became pastor of Bräunsdorf, Saxony, in 1837. But here his evangelical position soon involved him in difficulties with his rationalistic superiors. The oath

C. F. W. Walther

of his office bound him to the Book of Concord, but this was a farce, for the entire liturgy, the hymn-book and the catechism that he was compelled to use were rationalistic and so were the text-books in the schools. His conscience was sorely oppressed by the situation. His efforts to introduce Lutheran doctrine and practice met with determined opposition. General religious conditions were deplorable and the young pastor's position was intolerable. Accordingly he welcomed most heartily the invitation to help establish an ideal Church in America. His talent and his training had prepared him for a great work in the land of his adoption.

The exposure and banishment of their false leader left the Missouri colonists in great distress. Stephan had squandered the money in the general treasury and poverty stared them in the face. But even more serious was the spiritual confusion that overtook them. They had followed a false guide. How could they justify their course before the world and before their own consciences? Some of the pastors, Walther among them, began to doubt their call to the ministry. Some thought they should return to Germany. Many of the colonists felt that it was contrary to God's will that they had come to America. They doubted that they were really Christians or that the true Church of Christ existed among them at all. Divisions began to appear among them. The confusion and distress of conscience were indescribable.

Distress and Confusion

It was Walther who was the divine agent to save the

colonists from complete despair. He had continued his study of Luther and the Lutheran theologians, and early in 1841 he was ready to clarify the issues. By a series of propositions which he successfully maintained in debate he showed that the Church consists of an invisible communion of saints, that where the true faith is, there the true Church is, irrespective of the continuity of human organization, and that consequently these congregations of the colonists through their knowledge of the Christian truth must be regarded as part of the true Church of Christ and have full authority to call pastors. This not only quieted the minds of the colonists but also established the fundamental principles concerning the Church and its organization which have characterized the Missouri Synod to this day.

Walther Restores Confidence

A few weeks later Walther accepted the call to the congregation in St. Louis, which was to become the mother church of the Missouri Synod and the mainspring of all its activities in missions and benevolence. Here he gained a high reputation as a preacher. But his talents were soon to be called to educational and executive work. In 1844 he began the publication of *Der Lutheraner* to defend the Church of the Reformation against attack and to expound the doctrines and principles of Lutheranism. This attracted wide attention to his work and to the doctrinal positions of the Lutherans in Missouri.

Begins Work in St. Louis

The stream of German immigration continued to

flow with constantly increasing volume, and in 1846 steps were taken to form a new synod. The organization was effected the next year at Chicago, and Walther became the first president of the "German Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Missouri, Ohio and other States." This organization, numbering at first only twelve congregations and twenty-two pastors, was soon to become the center and head of the largest and most vigorous body of Lutherans in America. Already at the time of Walther's death (1887) the Synod numbered about fifteen hundred congregations and nearly a thousand ministers, while the *Lutheraner* had a circulation of nearly twenty thousand. Representation in the synod is by congregations and no synodical resolutions are in force until they are ratified by the congregations. The confessional basis of the new synod was stated to be all the symbolical books as "the pure and uncorrupted explanation and statement of the Divine Word." Parochial schools were established. Inspection of congregations by district presidents was provided for. And every possible safeguard was erected to maintain purity of Lutheran faith and practice. The constitution and the entire spirit of this influential body came from the mind and heart of its youthful first president.

Missouri Synod

But meanwhile other streams of Lutheran immigrants had come into the country. They were akin in spirit to the Saxons of Missouri. Some of them helped to organize the Missouri Synod in 1846 and the Synodical

Other Immigrant Lutherans

Conference in 1872, but most of them held aloof or separated from the Missourians and organized independent synods. Their history we must now sketch.

When in 1817 the King of Prussia began his efforts to unite the Lutherans and Reformed in his kingdom into the "Prussian Union" he only succeeded in reviving the lines of difference between the two confessions.

Buffalo Synod

And when in 1830 a royal decree abolished the old church books and sought to enforce a uniform liturgy that was neither Lutheran nor Reformed, some of the most orthodox Lutherans separated from the State Church and were called "Old Lutherans." When they were persecuted in Prussia many of them emigrated to America. The first company came in July, 1839. Their leader was Pastor Grabau of Erfurt. They numbered nearly a thousand and settled in and near Buffalo, New York, a few months after the Saxon Lutherans had reached Missouri. For a short time it was hoped that some kind of union might be effected between these two bands of orthodox Lutheran colonists. But in December, 1840, Pastor Grabau sent a pastoral letter to vacant congregations warning them against ministers who had not been properly ordained. Some of the views set forth in this letter gave offense in Missouri. Walther detected the same false views of the ministry and of the Church whose fatal consequences he had witnessed in Stephan. This and other errors of the Buffalo Lutherans he regarded as thoroughly Romanizing. The result was a long and bitter

controversy between the two pastors and their respective followers. In 1853 Walther founded the monthly theological journal, *Lehre und Wehre,* which he used as his chief medium of discussion. The Missourians succeeded in convincing a considerable number of pastors and congregations among the "Prussian Lutherans" and in 1867 a majority of their pastors joined Missouri. This made the conflict very caustic. The Buffalo Synod was organized in 1845 and began to train its own pastors. It was very rigid in doctrine and discipline. It has not grown very rapidly and has barely succeeded in holding the descendants of the original colonists.

Another independent body of Lutherans growing out of the immigration in this period is the "Synod of Iowa and other States." It was organized in 1854 and was a breach in the rank of the Missourians. Rev. William Loehe, pastor at Neuendettelsau, Bavaria, took great interest in developing the Lutheran Churches in America. In his own institutions he began to prepare men for the ministry in America and later was instrumental in establishing a theological seminary at Fort Wayne. His graduates entered the service of the Missouri Synod. But after 1850 a misunderstanding arose between Loehe and the Missourians. Walther and his brethren discovered in the writings of Loehe and in the views of his followers the same errors concerning the Church and the ministry that they had so long debated with the Buffalo men. Walther went to Germany and had a personal conference with Loehe, but the spirit of

Iowa Synod

divergence was abroad in the land and no permanent agreement was reached. The pupils of Loehe in America proceeded to organize the Iowa Synod in 1854. They feared that the extreme congregationalism of Missouri would overthrow all church order. On the question of the ministerial office they took a position mid-way between Buffalo and Missouri. They protested against what they called "a legalistic misuse of the symbols" on the part of the Missourians. The Iowa Synod firmly adheres to all the symbolical books but insists that there are certain "open questions," that is, doctrines that are not articles of faith and that should not be used to prevent fellowship of pulpit and altar among Lutherans. The chief spirits in the early history of the body were the Fritschel brothers, Sigmund and Gottfried. The Dubuque Seminary has been the main source of ministerial supply and the work of the synod extends over a very wide territory.

Before the end of this period the Missouri Synod had spread all over the country and was making its influence tell potently for more conservative Lutheranism than that of the older bodies in the East. Never for a minute did they depend upon any historical succession of ministry from Europe. From the very beginning they established their own educational institutions and prepared their own pastors. The modern "institution of instruction and education," that began in 1839, a few months after their arrival in America, became a well equipped college in 1850 with Walther as president and professor of theology.

Missouri College and Seminary

It was located in St. Louis. In 1861 the college was removed to Fort Wayne and in 1874 to Springfield, Illinois. The theological department remained at St. Louis where it has since become the largest Protestant seminary in America. In 1850 Walther retired from the presidency of the synod and gave all his time to writing and teaching and thus covered a wide field with the influence of his magnetic personality.

The Missouri Synod became the rallying point for the German pastors as they came into the country with the multiplying waves of immigration. From all parts of Germany they came. The North Germans soon outnumbered the Saxons, and the University of Goetingen was fully as well represented as Leipsic. Many of the men were highly educated and many were filled with missionary zeal. A number of long-established American congregations with their pastors were also attracted to this center of ultra-conservative Lutheranism. The synod increased the number of its districts until they covered the whole country with a thorough organization. It soon occupied all the strategic points in the great Middle West. It had strong outposts in the very centers of the older bodies in the East, and it was looking very fondly toward the Northwest and the Far West. In 1872 a number of district synods united with the Missouri Synod to form the Synodical Conference. The organization because of its strictly congregational polity, is not very compact. But it is thoroughly homogeneous, because its constant emphasis has been on purity of teaching and practice.

Growth of Missouri Synod

Walther's successor as president of the Synod was F. C. D. Wyneken. He had come to America in 1838 as a missionary among the scattered Germans. He had no relations with the Missouri Lutherans until he read the first issue of Walther's *Lutheraner* in 1844. Then he exclaimed, "Thank God! There are still some Lutherans in America." Shortly after that he severed his connections with the General Synod and entered into membership with the Synod of Missouri, where he soon became one of the most eminent leaders.

F. C. D. Wyneken

But many of the conservative Lutherans who came to America at this time and found their way into the older congregations and synods in the eastern part of the country, did not follow Wyneken's example and withdraw from these connections when they learned of the Missouri Synod but remained where they were and made vigorous contribution of their loyal Lutheran spirit to these less conservative bodies. A number of influential Wuertembergers joined the Pennsylvania Ministerium and helped to deepen the current of confessional loyalty. More of the North Germans went into the New York Ministerium, with a similar result. Others, imbued with a lively Lutheran consciousness, came from Germany and took their places in less conspicuous sections of the General Synod. These elements did not initiate the confessional reaction among the Lutherans in the East; they only helped to swell the tide of confessional loyalty that long before had begun to flow

Immigration Into the Older Bodies

REV. J. W. WALTHER

from a renewed study of the Church's confessional writings.

The General Synod felt the confessional reaction in all its parts. The revolt against the Prussian Union in Germany inspired thousands of pens, and their literary products bristling with Lutheran orthodoxy were eagerly read by hundreds of American Lutheran ministers either in the original or in translations that appeared on the pages of the *Evangelical Review*. German theology was studied and Lutheran history expounded even outside the Lutheran Church, and this reacted profoundly on the English-speaking portion of the Lutheran Church in this country. Walther's writings in the *Lutheraner* were widely read and discussed and clearly pointed the way back to historic Lutheranism. Loehe's *Church News from North America* frankly criticized the liberal element in the General Synod and praised the growing party of conservative Lutherans. Everywhere staunch advocates of "old Lutheranism" arose and materially influenced the progress of events in the Church. Of course the movement towards historical Lutheranism encountered stout resistance at various points and resulted in all kinds of internal discord. But conservative principles spread like a contagion, and the rising generation of ministers soon caught it. Men spoke of the period as "the present transition state of the Church," and such it was.

The Conservative Reaction

Another stream of Lutheran immigration in this period that helped swell the tide of confessional re-

Scandinavian Immigration

action came from the Scandinavian countries. The great volume of Scandinavian immigration belongs to our next period, but the beginnings are found here.

The Norwegians came first. In the thirties they began to settle in northern Illinois. The next decade they came in larger numbers to Wisconsin. They did not come because of religious motives, as so many of the Germans had come, and the consequence was that there was great spiritual destitution among them. In 1843 Rev. C. L. Claussen came to labor among them, and the next year Rev. J. C. W. Dietrichsen joined him. In 1853 they organized the "Norwegian Evangelical Lutheran Church in America." This body was strongly influenced by the Missouri Synod and co-operated in the Seminary at St. Louis. Other Norwegians united with Swedes in the Northern Illinois Synod which belonged to the General Synod. Still others followed the practice of revivalism and organized small independent synods, such as the Eielsen and Hauge's.

Norwegians

Swedish immigration began to flow perceptibly in the fifth decade. The Swedes have always kept in closer touch with the Americanized part of the Lutheran Church than the Norwegians have. Rev. L. P. Esbjorn came over from Sweden in 1849 to minister to the spiritual wants of the immigrants. He received much help and encouragement from Dr. Passavant and others in the eastern bodies. The earliest Swedes were connected with the Synod of Northern Illinois and Esbjorn became

Swedes

the Scandinavian professor of theology in the Lutheran school at Springfield, Illinois. The Swedes were strictly confessional in their Lutheranism. When in 1860 events within the General Synod made them feel insecure they dissolved their union with the Synod of Northern Illinois and severed their connection with the Illinois State University. That same year twenty-seven pastors and forty-nine congregations founded the Augustana Synod and established Augustana College. They thus gave notice that they intended to adhere strictly to the fundamental creed of Lutheranism. At the same time they prepared themselves, as no other organization could have done, to gather into their Lutheran fellowship the great multitude of their countrymen who were to come to America in the next period. The inner development of this vigorous body of conservative Lutherans calls for more detailed presentation in connection with the next period of our history.

Such were the beginnings and the characteristics of the great body of Lutheran immigrants in the nineteenth century. The total effect of their coming was profound and historically significant. This strong infusion of confessional elements into the body of the Lutheran Church in America not only stimulated the confessional reaction in the older organizations of American Lutherans, but it also stamped the Lutheran Church as a whole in the eyes of all other Churches in this country as indelibly evangelical and forever doctrinally conservative.

Effects of Immigration

The large and sudden increase in Lutheran numbers

compelled the attention of the other Churches in America and forced them to recognize the Lutheran Church as one of the greatest and by far the most rapidly growing of the Protestant Churches in this country. These new Lutherans came without pomp or circumstance and took their places quietly in the land. Their genuine spirituality, the solidity of their church life, and the vigor and warmth of their piety were patent to all who came to know them. They were untrained in the habits of free churches and humbled both by the circumstances of their emigration from Europe and by their strange surroundings when they arrived in the New World. But their training in the equable, systematic and methodical ways of State Churches, and their constant emphasis on thorough religious instruction and indoctrination insured them against the irregular fervor of that revivalism that periodically burned over their neighbor churches. It helped to guarantee their independence and permanence in their adopted land. They had much to learn in matters of Church organization and administration and in the course of time they did learn their lessons along these lines. But from the beginning they also had much to teach to American Christianity in general on methods of theology and usages of worship, and their teaching has long since yielded visible results. Their unflinching loyalty to the Lutheran confessions made them impervious to the religious whims that blew over most of the other Churches from time to time, and what has often been

Place of Lutherans in American Christianity

interpreted as lukewarmness in the presence of a great general inspiration is now seen in the perspective of several generations to be the reliable spirit of intensive confessional loyalty that is the guarantee of steady but certain progress.

That this characteristic spirit of conservatism should have been stamped upon the Church so forcibly during this discordant middle age of the nineteenth century was an accident of circumstances and must not be taken to mean that pugnacity and controversy and denominational competition are necessary accompaniments of Church loyalty and doctrinal conservatism. But this fact could become manifest only in the course of subsequent periods of history.

Conservatism Characteristic

CHAPTER XVI

"AMERICAN LUTHERANISM"

The rising tide of positive Lutheranism aroused opposition in some of the older bodies of the Muhlenberg descent. The confessional movement found its antithesis in what was called "American Lutheranism." This was a Lutheranism that was strongly modified by the Puritan element of American Christianity and was unable to shake off the denominational indifferentism that had prevailed in the youth of the Republic. There were those who failed to see that the conservative type of Lutheranism would restore to the Church something of the ardor and earnestness of Muhlenberg and his co-laborers. They felt that such a strong infusion of historic Lutheranism would tend to divest the Church of all spirituality and aggressiveness. They viewed with sincere alarm the confessional reaction that so completely covered the horizon, and they set themselves steadfastly and methodically to resist it. To that end they proposed a modification of historic Lutheranism, its confessions and its practices, so as to infuse into it the vigor of Presbyterianism and the warmth of Methodism. In short, they sought to adapt Lutheranism to American soil by divesting it of its distinctive traits and making it conform to the average American type of religion.

Opposing the Confessional Movement

These advocates of "American Lutheranism" were a small group, always in the minority both in the

district synods and in the General Synod, but they were exceedingly active and aggressive and their leaders were among the most influential men in the General Synod. They refused to be silenced by the growing strength of the conservatives.

A Minority Party

The real test of strength between these two antitheses within the General Synod came about the middle of the century. The conservative wing in the general body had been growing steadily for some years. By the year 1850 it was clearly in the ascendancy. This fact was noted by European observers.

The Conservative Wing of the General Synod

Apart from the powerful conservative influences coming from new Lutheran bodies in the West, several weighty factors favored the increase of traditional Lutheranism in the General Synod. The Book of Concord that had been translated into English by the Henkels of the Tennessee Synod was being widely circulated and studied. Influential men were studying the contemporary literature of Germany, particularly the writings of the rigid Lutheran theologians opposed to the Prussian Union. Schmidt's "Dogmatic Theology" was studied and a translation into English was begun. Church papers were founded to feed the appetite for positive Lutheran literature. The *Evangelical Review,* edited after 1850 by Prof. Charles Philip Krauth of the Gettysburg Seminary, was an effective medium for presenting sound Lutheran theology to English readers. The *Lutheran Standard* of Columbus, Ohio, was firmly pleading for fidelity to the con-

fessions. Dr. Passavant's paper, *The Missionary,* carried many positive and convincing theological articles from the pen of Dr. Charles Porterfield Krauth. The result of these and other facts enumerated in the preceding chapter was the dominance in the General Synod of the conservative party, a party which in its confessional advance went far beyond the position of the General Synod at the time of its founding. In consequence of this some of the very men who had helped to sustain the General Synod in the twenties as a bulwark of Lutheranism, a defence against unionism and rationalism, now reacted against the positive Lutheran position assumed by the majority in that body. And in their reaction they became more lax in the fifties than they had been in the twenties and constituted what was called "the left wing of the General Synod."

One of the leading advocates of "American Lutheranism" was Dr. S. S. Schmucker, the head of the Gettysburg Seminary. We have already seen how zealous he was in his early ministry for the Lutheran Church and the Augsburg Confession. His enthusiasm for the General Synod in its infancy, his energetic exertions to save that body from dissolution in 1823, his translation of Storr and Flatt's "Biblical Theology," his many literary labors to make the Lutheran Church known to those beyond her bounds, his activities in establishing and directing a theological seminary and a college for the more adequate training of a native American ministry—all these are unmistak-

Schmucker's Service to the Church

able evidences of his loyalty to the Lutheran Church and his merit in maintaining her identity in this country in those critical times. The professor's pledge which he prepared for the constitution of the Theological Seminary in 1825 and the model constitution for district synods which he drafted for the General Synod four years later, show that in his confessional position at that time he was more positively Lutheran than most of his contemporaries. For several decades his great influence was exerted on behalf of conservatism.

His Liberal Tendency

But there were elements in Dr. Schmucker's disposition and training that made it impossible for him to keep ahead of the confessional advance that came in the forties and fifties. In his father's home he had acquired a distinct pietistic strain. Under Dr. Helmuth's instruction he had imbibed an aversion for sharp theological definitions. At Princeton Seminary, where he studied for two years, his training measurably influenced his theological views. His associations at this institution, while they stimulated his zeal for his own Church, nevertheless produced within him a broad-mindedness and tolerance towards non-Lutherans that was destined to clash with the spirit of denominational exclusiveness that came to prevail about the middle of the century. In 1838 he issued his "Fraternal Appeal to the American Churches," calling for the reunion of the Churches on "the apostolic basis." He was prominently identified with the formation in 1846 of the "Evangelical Alliance," a union of individual

Christians to promote religious toleration and to counteract Romanism and infidelity. That same year he helped to send a circular letter to Germany disparaging the Lutheran view of the Lord's Supper and indicating points of similarity between the General Synod and the Prussian Union. More and more his public utterances indicated his dissatisfaction with the general trend of events in the Lutheran Church in America and emphasized "the religion of the spirit" as against the "religion of forms." Dr. Schmucker had fallen behind in the progress of conservative Lutheranism and had lost his leadership in the General Synod. Even in his own institutions at Gettysburg more conservative elements began to prevail. The reaction made him a leader of the opposition to the confessional movement and increasingly lax with advancing years. It alienated many of his former friends and clouded the evening of his days.

Other leading advocates of "American Lutheranism" were Dr. Benjamin Kurtz and Dr. Samuel Sprecher. Dr. Kurtz was the stormy petrel of the movement, a keen debater and vigorous writer. As editor of the *Lutheran Observer* from 1833 to 1861 he exerted a tremendous influence on the English-speaking portion of the Church. During these years the pages of that paper brought repeated arraignments of Lutheran positions, particularly the Lutheran confessions. Even the Augsburg Confession was subjected to serious criticism. All liturgical worship was denounced as formalism. Revival methods were zealously advocated, and personal

Benjamin Kurtz

piety was exalted above everything else. Those who opposed these so-called "new measures" were called "head Christians" and "catechism Christians." Dr. Kurtz was sure that "proscriptive intolerance" lay on the side of what he called the "Old Lutheran System" and to this he opposed the "evangelical" methods of "American Lutheranism."

Dr. Sprecher had been trained by Dr. Schmucker and adopted the theological views of his teacher. He was a brilliant teacher and a far more profound thinker than either Schmucker or Kurtz. As president of Wittenberg College for twenty-five years he exerted a far-reaching influence on behalf of the "new measures" and a modified Lutheranism. The institutions at Springfield, Ohio, were quite pronounced in their advocacy of "American Lutheranism" as they were without any of the conservative influences that counteracted the teaching of Dr. Schmucker at Gettysburg.

Samuel Sprecher

These advocates of confessional modification and radical measures had a vigorous following. Their main contention was that the Lutheran Church can have a national development on American soil only by adjusting itself to its environment. By this they meant that the Lutheran Church in America must make wide concessions to the revivalistic and puritanic spirit of the surrounding denominations. The party of "American Lutheranism" was strongly repelled by the sharp polemics of the Missouri, Iowa and Buffalo Synods. Their contact with the anti-

Position of "American Lutheranism"

religious element among the German immigrants, particularly those who came in the revolutionary year of 1848, persuaded them that a Lutheranism imported from Germany needed to be strongly modified by home-made practices and creeds before it could be expected to flourish in America. In its emphasis on Americanism and its attitude of concession towards other denominations this movement was a generation late, but in its controversial spirit it was thoroughly up-to-date. Harsh criticisms were uttered. Unlovely epithets abounded. But the issues at stake were fought through to a conclusion. A real problem was involved in the antithesis between "American Lutheranism" and the confessional reaction. It is the problem of accommodating Lutheranism to the American spirit. It is well for subsequent history that both sides of the controversy were so ably represented before the decision was reached. It gave a degree of finality to the decision.

The issue was squarely joined. The growth of the strength of the "conservatives" increased the activities of the "liberals." The Hartwick Synod was formed from the western conference of the New York Ministerium in 1830. One of the reasons given for the new organization was that the Ministerium did not sufficiently favor revivals. In the doctrinal basis of this Synod as set down in 1837, the Augsburg Confession was essentially modified so as to make it conform with the teaching of "all Protestant communions." But already in 1837 the Hartwick Synod

Hartwick and Franckean Synods

was not sufficiently pious and "American" for some of its members, and four of them separated and organized the Franckean Synod. This new body abandoned the Augsburg Confession entirely and pressed the "new measures" to the extreme. As it occupied the same territory as the Hartwick Synod the result was a number of bitter lawsuits between the two. The Franckean Synod long afterwards became the occasion of disruption in the General Synod.

Efforts were also made to turn back the confessional tide in the older synods and in the General Synod. Dr. Kurtz was a member of the Maryland Synod but he tried in vain to commit that body to the "new measures." As to the confessions there was much uncertainty about the official position of the General Synod. The confessional basis recommended to the district synods by the general body was "that the fundamental doctrines of the Word of God are taught in a manner substantially correct in the doctrinal articles of the Augsburg Confession." But great liberties were taken with the words "fundamental" and "substantially correct" and "doctrinal." In order, therefore, to give definiteness to the pledge of the General Synod, Dr. Baugher, a decidedly conservative Lutheran and afterwards president of Gettysburg College, proposed in 1844 that the Maryland Synod prepare an "Abstract of Doctrines and Practices of the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Maryland." The avowed purpose of this was to correct "various and repeated misrepresentations concerning the doctrines

The Maryland Synod "Abstract"

and practices of the Lutheran Church in the United States." But Dr. Kurtz got control of the committee appointed to prepare the "abstract" and the synod refused to adopt the report of the committee because it represented a modified or "American Lutheranism" and omitted or repudiated all distinctive Lutheran teachings.

Both Dr. Schmucker and Dr. Sprecher were deeply interested in the Maryland Synod "Abstract." The next year the matter was submitted to the General Synod and Dr. Schmucker was made chairman of a committee to frame "a clear and concise view of the doctrines and practices of the American Lutheran Church." But the General Synod no longer followed Dr. Schmucker's lead and the report of his committee, submitted in 1850, closely resembling the Maryland Synod "Abstract," was rejected by the General Synod.

Rejected by the General Synod

Meanwhile the Church in general continued to move in the direction of a stricter confessional basis. In 1853 the Pennsylvania Ministerium applied for readmission to the General Synod, after an absence of thirty years, and was admitted. The old Ministerium had made rapid confessional strides since 1823 and had recently come to "acknowledge the collective body of symbolical books as the historico-confessional writings of the Evangelical Lutheran Church" though giving special preeminence to the unaltered Augsburg Confession and Luther's Small Catechism. The cordial wel-

The Pennsylvania Ministerium Returns to the General Synod

come of the Pennsylvania Ministerium into the General Synod, therefore, was another proof that the General Synod was making progress towards more advanced confessional ground. The return of the mother synod and the admission at the same time of the Pittsburgh Synod, the Synod of Northern Illinois, and the Synod of Texas, gave still greater strength to the conservative element in the General Synod.

The advocates of "American Lutheranism" now made their last stand against the general awakening of Lutheran consciousness. As the variety of interpretation of the General Synod's confessional basis continued, the sentiment increased that there should be some way of standardizing that interpretation. But before the General Synod itself could proceed to amend its constitution there was published a small pamphlet called the "Definite Synodical Platform." This document appeared anonymously in September, 1855, and was sent to many of the pastors. It was a revision of the Augsburg Confession and the synods were urged to adopt it as their confessional basis. It claimed to find a number of errors in the Augsburg Confession, and these it specified as follows: the approval of the mass, private confession and absolution, denial of the divine obligation of the Sabbath, baptismal regeneration, and the real presence of Christ's body and blood in the Lord's Supper. The articles containing these "errors" were either to be modified or omitted. The "definite platform" claimed to be in accord with the General Synod's basis because

"Definite Synodical Platform"

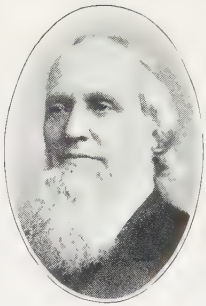
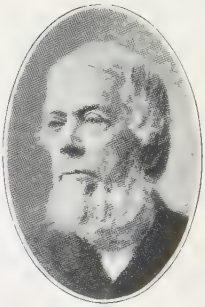
it did not omit any "fundamental doctrine of Scripture."

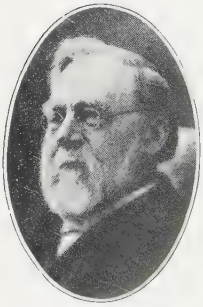
The authorship of the "definite platform" was not hard to guess. Dr. Schmucker afterwards acknowledged that his pen had drafted it and given it the finished form. The reception accorded the document greatly disappointed its authors. Only three small synods in Ohio, influenced by Dr. Sprecher, accepted it temporarily. Everywhere else it was vigorously rejected. Dr. Kurtz stoutly defended it in the *Observer* but to no avail. Everywhere writers and debaters arose to defend the Augustana. Books were written and conferences were held, even among the newer Lutherans of Missouri and Ohio, and one after another the district synods of the General Synod expressed unqualified disapprobation of the attempt to revise the creed of generic Lutheranism. The emphatic rejection of the "definite platform" pronounced the doom of "American Lutheranism" and the whole episode forcibly emphasized the real conservatism and the Lutheran orthodoxy of the General Synod at that time.

Emphatically Rejected

When Dr. Kurtz found himself unable to resist the conservative doctrinal tendency of the Maryland Synod he withdrew from that body in 1857 and with several kindred spirits organized the Melanchthon Synod. Dr. Kurtz had the pseudo-prophetic zeal that so often possesses those who know they are in the minority. The "declaration of faith" for this new synod consisted of the doctrinal standards of the Evangelical Alliance

Melanchthon Synod



OTHER LEADERS

Benjamin Kurtz, D.D.
F. C. D. Wyneken
F. W. Stellhorn, D.D.

W. A. Passavant, D.D.
Gottfried Fritschel, D.D.
M. Loy, D.D.

Prof. T. N. Hasselquist, D.D.
Sigmund Fritschel, D.D.
J. D. Severinghaus, D.D.

with slight modifications. The name of the new body is significant. Long years afterward Dr. Sprecher, who lived long enough to see and acknowledge the whole mistake in "American Lutheranism," called the "Definite Synodical Platform" "the culmination of Melanchthonianism." Such it was and the organization of another synod in the territory of the Maryland Synod merely on the basis of "elective affinity" was American Lutheranism's declaration of ecclesiastical nullification and secession. The Melanchthon Synod lasted only eleven years. At its largest extent it embraced only eleven country pastorates, in central and western Maryland. It was admitted to the General Synod in 1859. This was not due to any lack of strength on the part of the conservative element in that meeting of the General Synod, but to the fact that Dr. Charles Porterfield Krauth, the leading theologian among the conservatives, was concerned to maintain the numerical strength of the general body and advocated the admission of the new synod on certain conditions which were met. The Melanchthon Synod was warned against schism and requested to withdraw its implied charges against the Augsburg Confession. This admission of the Melanchthon Synod was, however, one of the fruitful causes of the rupture in the ranks of the General Synod a few years later.

The issue was settled. "American Lutheranism" was definitely defeated. The leading advocates of a modified Lutheranism or Melanchthonianism, with all their great personal influence, were in a hopeless minority. After the incident of the "definite platform" their

influence waned rapidly. It was the registered conviction of the great host of Lutherans in America that Lutheranism can live and flourish in this country without giving away its own spirit or adulterating its own original life and character. The future of the Lutheran Church in America was to belong to the conservative type of Lutheranism. It was worth much to have that decided so that the experiment of "American Lutheranism" might never be seriously undertaken again. The Lutheran Church in 1860 was in a position, barring disruption and internal controversies, to make steady and rapid progress in the conservation of her faith and the development of her doctrinal resources.

Definite Defeat of "American Lutheranism"

CHAPTER XVII

DISRUPTION AND RECONSTRUCTION

The ultimate defeat of "American Lutheranism" as a movement did not establish the peace of the Church. The variety of elements, racial, linguistic, doctrinal and personal, that were found in the Church after the middle of the century furnished abundant material for internal discord. These antagonistic elements had always been present in the Church to some extent, but hitherto conciliation and mutual toleration had been the order of the day. Now the spirit of unrest and intolerance was abroad in the land. That spirit was aggravated by racial misunderstandings and the friction of strong personalities. Divisions and breaks took place on other than doctrinal and practical grounds. It was a day when the smallest angle of difference was the occasion for controversy and strife. The members of the same household were often the most bitter in their enmity against one another.

Elements of Internal Discord

We have already seen how the hot fires of doctrinal controversy raged among the orthodox Lutherans who had lately come from Germany and organized themselves in Missouri, Iowa and Buffalo. These debates continued throughout the period we are now reviewing and caused many a division and realignment of organization. Missouri debated with Buffalo the doctrines of

Debated Questions

the ministry, the Church, and the office of the keys, and the question concerning the ideal relation of the Church to the State. This controversy resulted in serious disruption among the men and congregations of Buffalo. With Loehe and the men of the Iowa Synod, Dr. Walther and his Missourians debated in addition the subject of "open questions," the binding character of the confessions, the divine obligation of Sunday, the right to take interest, whether the Pope is the anti-Christ, and other points of difference. But the most bitter controversy and the one that led to disruption in the ranks of the Missourians, was that concerning predestination. It continued far beyond the period we are now studying. It involved the Ohio Synod and the Norwegians as well as the men of Iowa and even aroused some of the theologians of the older bodies in the East. It resulted in a division in the St. Louis faculty, the separation of the Norwegians from the Missouri Synod, further divisions among the Norwegians themselves, the withdrawal of the Joint Synod of Ohio from the Synodical Conference, and the exodus of a number of German pastors from Missouri to join Ohio. The literature produced by these controversies and breaks was enormous, and the spirit of exclusiveness and fraction was fed to a surfeit.

Meanwhile the process of division had gone on apace among the Lutherans of Muhlenberg descent. New synods were formed, not in amity and peace as in the preceding period, but in the spirit of secession and protest. The formation of two new synods in the territory of the New York Ministerium, the Hartwick

in 1830 and the Franckean in 1837, led to vigorous protests from the Mother Synod and serious conflicts between the two children. In Ohio a number of pastors of the Joint Synod became dissatisfied with the attitude of that body on the language question and other matters and in 1836 they withdrew and formed the East Ohio Synod. This was only the beginning of divisions in that State, so that in the end all the elements of Muhlenberg descent that had entered into the original Synod of Ohio in 1818 separated and formed other bodies. Angry charges of "intolerance, oppression and inconsistency" were frequently heard there. East of the Susquehanna there was serious dissatisfaction in the ranks of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania. This was due partly to the exclusive use of German in the sessions of the Ministerium, partly to the confessional and liturgical tendency of the Ministerium, and partly to a difference of view in regard to the General Synod and her institutions. In 1842 ten pastors, led by Dr. W. M. Reynolds, a professor at Gettysburg College, left the Ministerium and formed the East Pennsylvania Synod. This covered the same territory as the Ministerium and for many years there was much friction between the two bodies. Further south also the spirit of schism was active. The Maryland Synod resented the formation of the Melanchthon Synod on her territory in 1857. And in 1860 the Tennessee Synod was seriously weakened by the withdrawal from its ranks of pastors and congregations to form the Holston Synod.

Competing Synods

But more serious than any of these divisions was the disruption in the ranks of the General Synod that occurred in this period. In 1860 the General Synod was more of a "general" body than at any other time in its history. It embraced almost all of the Muhlenberg development and a considerable number of the more recent Lutheran immigrants. It numbered 864 out of the 1,313 ministers and 164,000 out of the 245,000 communicants, a total of about two-thirds of the entire Lutheran Church in this country. Not a few of the Church leaders in that day cherished the hope of making the General Synod the center of a single organization embracing all the Lutherans in America. But from the very nature of the case, that hope was doomed to disappointment. During the next six years the General Synod suffered losses by exodus and disruption that deprived it of nearly half of its membership and postponed indefinitely the prospect of a really "general" organization including all the Lutherans in America.

The General Synod at Its Greatest Strength

The first break in the strength of the General Synod came in 1860 with the exodus of the Swedes and Norwegians from the Synod of Northern Illinois. We have seen that in 1851 a large number of Swedes and a smaller number of Norwegians, under the leadership of Prof. L. P. Esbjorn, helped to form the Synod of Northern Illinois, a district synod of the General Synod, and cooperated in the work of the Illinois State University. As that synod simply affirmed the Augsburg Confes-

Exodus of the Swedes

sion to be "a summary of the fundamental doctrines of the Christian religion substantially correct" the Scandinavians carefully guarded their rights on entering the body. In 1859 they constituted nearly half of the whole synod, and they exerted a measurable influence in favor of historic Lutheranism. But they feared that the General Synod might not remain doctrinally sound, and because of the barrier of language, they could not impress their views on that body. They were much disturbed over the admission of the Melanchthon Synod to the General Synod in 1859, and began to contemplate a separate organization. The following spring personal troubles arose between Esbjorn and the other professors at Springfield, with the result that he suddenly resigned and moved to Chicago, taking the Scandinavian students with him. Shortly after that all the Swedes and Norwegians formally severed their connections with the Synod of Northern Illinois, and in June, 1860, the Augustana Synod was formed. The Springfield school was purchased by the Missourians. One result of this secession of the Swedes was a great weakening of the conservative element in that part of the General Synod.

The second rupture in the ranks of the General Synod was made in 1862. The Civil War was in progress and partisan rancor was intense. Such was the confusion and anxiety due to the war that the meeting of the general body had been postponed for a year. When it met in Lancaster in May, 1862, only one delegate was present from south of the Potomac River. It was easy to foresee that some declaration would be

made concerning the great conflict. It is indicative of the religious genius of the Lutheran Church and her essential conservatism that up to this time she had not allowed the purely economic and moral issue of slavery to make a division in her organization. The Methodists, Baptists and Presbyterians had all divided on that issue ten or fifteen years before the War came. But at the time of the Lancaster meeting of the General Synod the southern states had seceded and actual war had been going on for twelve months. The district synods, North and South, had all taken action supporting their respective governments. The southern synods, expecting that the political separation between the North and South would be permanent, had taken action looking towards withdrawal from the General Synod of the United States and the forming of a General Synod of the Confederate States. The General Synod at Lancaster, therefore, took vigorous action on the whole subject. Naturally that action was very pronounced against the South. The resolutions were so framed that the southern pastors and congregations interpreted them to mean that their return to the General Synod would not be desired even after the Union of the States was restored.

Division Due to the War

After the close of the war, Lutherans of the North made overtures to those of the South, suggesting their return to their former organic relationship. But the southern churches determined to continue their own General Synod, which they had begun in May, 1863. They cited the strong resolutions of 1862 and in addi-

tion explained that they now had their own peculiar problems requiring that they should maintain their own general organization and institutions and literature. Moreover, they pointed to the serious division among the northern synods that now seemed imminent, and they preferred to have no part in that factional strife. They placed themselves on a more positive confessional basis than that of the General Synod of the North and changed their name to comport with the change in political relations. The organization was later called the "United Synod of the South." This secession of the southern Lutherans withdrew from the old General Synod five of its district synods, North Carolina, South Carolina, Virginia, Western Virginia and Texas, embracing one hundred and forty-six ministers, two hundred and seventeen congregations, and over twenty-two thousand members. It further diminished the strength of the conservative party in the General Synod.

United Synod of the South

But the most serious disruption came with the withdrawal of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania and the organization of another general body on the territory of the General Synod. This was a process extending over four years. It began with the meeting of the General Synod at York in 1864, and was completed by the formation of the General Council at Fort Wayne in 1867.

When the Ministerium of Pennsylvania affiliated with the General Synod in 1853 it carefully guarded the terms of its affiliation. The predominance of the

German language and German personalities in the Ministerium, and its strong trend toward conservative Lutheran positions, made its members suspicious of the Lutheranism in the more Americanized parts of the Church. The action to unite with the General Synod was not taken without a struggle. It was specified in joining the general body that the Ministerium retained all rights to control its internal affairs and that if the General Synod should ever violate its constitution and require assent to anything conflicting with the "old and long-established faith of the Evangelical Lutheran Church," the delegates of the Ministerium were required to protest and withdraw from the meeting. At the same convention the Ministerium pledged itself to all the symbolical books. It is clear that the old Ministerium had now reached confessional ground more advanced than the rest of the General Synod. Several incidents that occurred shortly after the Ministerium had joined the General Synod were disquieting to the conservative leaders in the Ministerium. The "definite platform" was overwhelmingly rejected, it is true, but the Melanchthon Synod was admitted in spite of the negative vote of the Ministerium's delegates. The conservative element easily predominated in the General Synod, but they were making concessions to the liberal element that the Ministerium regarded as unwarranted. In those days of universal discord, the spirit of unity had left the General Synod and it needed only an occasion to precipitate serious conflict between the two elements.

Position of the Pennsylvania Ministerium

The crisis came at York in 1864. The Franckean Synod applied for admission to the General Synod. Now the Franckean Synod had never accepted the Augsburg Confession. It had its own "declaration of faith," in which the distinctive doctrines of Lutheranism were not contained. Its application was accordingly rejected until it should "give formal expression of its adoption of the Augsburg Confession as received by the General Synod." But the next day, when the delegates of the Franckean Synod explained that in adopting the constitution of the General Synod they thought that they had also adopted its confession of faith, the question was reconsidered. After a long and spirited discussion it was voted, ninety-seven to forty, to admit the Franckean Synod, but with the express "understanding that said synod, at its next meeting, declare in an official manner its adoption of the doctrinal articles of the Augsburg Confession." This action the minority regarded as unconstitutional and dangerous in principle, and they entered a formal protest against it. The delegation of the Pennsylvania Ministerium further presented a paper recalling the reservations under which their body had united with the General Synod in 1853, recording their conviction that the recent action of the General Synod was unconstitutional and declaring their purpose therefore "to withdraw from the sessions of the General Synod, in order to report to the Synod of Pennsylvania at its approaching convention."

The Crisis at York, 1864

The delegation from the Ministerium withdrew and

the die was cast. The delegation did not regard their act as the withdrawal of the Ministerium itself from the General Synod, and the Ministerium did not so interpret it. But others did so regard it, and events that transpired before the next meeting of the General Synod made the disruption practically complete. After the withdrawal of the Ministerium's delegation from the York convention, the General Synod at the same meeting adopted a resolution denying that there are any errors in the Augsburg Confession. It also provided for an amendment to its constitution fortifying its position as a conservative Lutheran body and clearly defining in that sense the confessional basis to be adopted by synods desiring to unite with the general body. This was done because the majority in the General Synod were anxious to conciliate the Ministerium and to guard against establishing a dangerous precedent by the admission of the Franckean Synod and because they wanted to express the confessional advance that had been made since 1829. This amendment was submitted to the Ministerium and was ratified by that body along with a large majority of the other district synods. But it was a time of war and not of peace. The passions of men were deeply stirred. Two things in particular prevented the restoration of peace in the General Synod, the establishment of a new seminary and the conflict of strong personalities.

The General Synod Amends Its Constitution

Early in February, 1864, Dr. Schmucker had resigned as the head of the Gettysburg Seminary. A

large number of the conservative element wanted Charles Porterfield Krauth as his successor. By his many publications Dr. Krauth had shown himself to be the most scholarly among the Lutheran theologians in America. By 1864 he had become thoroughly conservative in his confessional position. If the training of the future ministers of the Church could have been committed to his hands, the Ministerium might have regarded that as a sufficient guarantee against radical tendencies. But there were many who wanted a new seminary. The demand for German pastors was greater than Gettysburg could supply. The project to strengthen the force at Gettysburg did not seem feasible, and long before the events of 1864 a number of advocates were pleading for the establishment of a theological seminary in Philadelphia as Muhlenberg had planned and as many had hoped for since his day. After the break in York and with no prospect of having Dr. Krauth as Dr. Schmucker's successor, the Ministerium of Pennsylvania proceeded in July, 1864, to establish its own seminary in Philadelphia. Dr. Krauth was called to be its professor of systematic theology and Dr. C. F. Schaeffer, the German professor at the Gettysburg Seminary, and Dr. W. J. Mann became the other professors. This event convinced many that a permanent breach in the ranks of the General Synod was now inevitable.

A New Seminary

A few weeks later Dr. J. A. Brown was elected head of the Gettysburg Seminary. Dr. Brown was well known for his conservative views, having been a pro-

nounced antagonist of Dr. Schmucker in his "American Lutheranism." Dr. Krauth, Sr., the second professor at Gettysburg, was also known to be conservative.

Strained Relations

But naturally the relations between the two institutions became strained at once. The sudden removal of one of the professors from the old seminary and the withdrawal of many of the students occasioned much bitter feeling. The representatives of the Pennsylvania Ministerium who came as usual to attend the meeting of the Gettysburg Board of Directors were told that they had no place there. A literary war was waged between Dr. Brown and Dr. Krauth. Several of the leaders in the General Synod began to indulge in fierce condemnation of the Ministerium and its seminary. The withdrawal of the Ministerium's delegation at York began to be generally interpreted as the secession of the Ministerium itself from the General Synod.

When, therefore, the General Synod met at Fort Wayne, Indiana, on May 17, 1866, the atmosphere was charged with forebodings of serious conflict. The Ministerium of Pennsylvania sent a delegation, but their instructions breathed the spirit of defiance rather than charity. Both sides expected rupture. The

Conflict Inevitable

purely German element in the Ministerium was determined to separate from the General Synod. Indeed it was openly charged that the leaders in the Ministerium, already before that meeting of the General Synod, had entered into negotiations looking towards the forming of a new general body. On the other hand,

the left wing of the General Synod were loudly proclaiming their intention to exclude the Ministerium from the general body at this convention if it could be done. But each side to the controversy wanted to place on the other the responsibility for schism in the Church.

It happened that the president of the General Synod at that time was Dr. Sprecher. With others of the left wing he had planned his method of procedure. At the opening of the convention at Fort Wayne, he refused to receive the credentials of the delegates from the Ministerium of Pennsylvania. He declared that the Ministerium was in a "state of practical withdrawal from the governing functions of the General Synod," and that the General Synod must first organize its convention by electing officers before it could receive the report of an act restoring practical relations of the Ministerium with the General Synod. When attention was called to the reservation made by the Ministerium when it joined the General Synod in 1853, Dr. Sprecher replied that the reservation was not recorded in the minutes of the General Synod and therefore could not be recognized by the officers of that body. An appeal was made from this decision but the synods already received sustained the chair. On this technicality and against the protest of delegates from other synods, the Ministerium's delegation was excluded from the election of officers.

Summary Procedure

However, the new president of the General Synod was Dr. Brown. He was one of those conservatives

who wished to preserve the unity of the General Synod and did not want to exclude the Ministerium summarily but only wanted to annul the condition which the Ministerium had attached to its admission in 1853.

Final Withdrawal of the Pennsylvania Ministerium

The case of the Pennsylvania Synod was therefore thoroughly discussed by the General Synod in a debate that lasted three days. The chief point of contention was concerning the right of a delegation to withdraw when an act which seemed to them unconstitutional was passed. At length it was decided to request the delegates from the Ministerium to "waive what might seem to them an irregular organization of this body and acquiesce in the present organization." This they agreed to do, provided the General Synod would acknowledge their constitutional right to be represented before the election of officers and to take part in it. Such acknowledgment the majority of the General Synod refused to make, because it would have perpetuated the disturbing reservation of 1853. Thereupon the delegation of the Ministerium withdrew for the last time. The break was complete, another strong support of conservatism was withdrawn from the General Synod, and for fifty-two years the Ministerium of Pennsylvania had no organic relation with the other synods in the General Synod.

But the principle of a general organization for Lutherans had strongly commended itself in the forty-six years of experience of the General Synod. Accordingly, after the break at Fort Wayne the hope was widely

CHARLES PORTERFIELD KRAUTH, D.D., LL.D.

entertained of building a new general body that would be more thoroughly Lutheran in its spirit and more general in its extent than the old General Synod. The separation of the Pennsylvania Ministerium had been greeted with satisfaction in many quarters. The Ministerium, therefore, when it approved the course of its delegates at Fort Wayne and formally severed its connection with the General Synod, issued a call to all Lutheran Synods acknowledging the Unaltered Augsburg Confession, inviting them to participate in the organization of a new general body "on a truly Lutheran basis." In response to this call a convention was held at Reading, Pennsylvania, in December, 1866. Thirteen synods were represented. The principal business of the convention was the discussion and adoption of a set of theses that Dr. Krauth had prepared on "The fundamental principles of faith and church polity." These theses were unanimously adopted as the basis of the proposed organization. They placed the new body squarely on the doctrinal basis of the Unaltered Augsburg Confession and the other symbolical books because they are "in perfect harmony of one and the same scriptural faith." As to ecclesiastical polity it was made clear that the new organization would allow the individual synods a wide range of freedom in regulating their own affairs.

Call for a New Organization

The required number of synods having adopted the "fundamental principles," the first regular convention of the "General Council of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of North America" was held at Fort Wayne

in November, 1867. Eleven synods participated in the organization: The Ministerium of Pennsylvania, the New York Ministerium, the English Synod of Ohio, the Pittsburgh Synod, the Wisconsin Synod, the English District Synod of Ohio, the Michigan Synod, the Augustana Synod, the Minnesota Synod, the Canada Synod, and the Illinois Synod. The Joint Synod of Ohio and the Iowa Synod sent delegates but did not unite with the Council because they could not be satisfied of its thoroughgoing Lutheranism. The Missouri Synod had been represented at the preliminary meeting in Reading, but did not favor the organization of a new general body and declined to unite with it. But from the beginning the General Council was four-fifths the size of the depleted General Synod, and after a few years the younger body was the larger.

The General Council Organized

The General Council at once took up the work of reorganizing the churches on the confessional basis it had adopted. A liturgy and Church Book were prepared. A model constitution for congregations was devised and debated and finally adopted. In all these lines the Pennsylvania Ministerium took the lead. In the benevolent operations of the Church few powers had been committed to the general body, and this work continued to be carried on by the individual synods. From the general character of the Council and the purpose of its organization it followed that its sessions were very largely occupied by discussions

Its General Spirit

of principles and by debates on points of difference with other Lutheran bodies. For many years these debates absorbed the regular conventions of the body and engaged the literary activity of its teachers. It was somewhat disappointing that no agreement could be reached with the strictly orthodox Lutherans farther west so that the "general" character of the body might be more nearly realized. Moreover, the General Council had to reckon constantly with internal diversities of language, nationality and training. But in the rapid enlargement of the Church that soon took place the General Council fulfilled the primary purpose of its organization in maintaining purity of doctrine and developing sound cultus and practice.

Through the formation of the General Council a number of district synods also suffered disruption. We have noted that a number of delegates from other synods cordially sympathized with the delegates of the Pennsylvania Ministerium in the events at York and Fort Wayne. When the Ministerium issued its call for the formation of a new general body these men tried to move their respective synods to separate from the General Synod and take part in the new organization. Thus there developed a new phase of internal discord. When the New York Ministerium decided to unite with the General Council seventeen ministers withdrew from the Ministerium to form the New York Synod, and as such joined the General Synod. For the same reason a minority in the Illinois Synod formed themselves into the Central Illinois Synod and

Disruption of Synods

remained in the General Synod. In the Pittsburgh Synod the minority, refusing to abide by the decision of the majority to join the General Council, claimed the name of the original synod, and were recognized by the General Synod as the Pittsburgh Synod. This disruption of synods caused great distraction and lasting bitterness. Congregations changed their synodical affiliations. Pastors were parted from their congregations by their allegiance to one or the other of the general bodies. Congregations were often divided. Expensive and humiliating lawsuits were begun for possession of the properties. Scholarly theologians sat for days in the witness stand of secular courts. When the issues depended on the question of essential Lutheranism the General Synod invariably won. But wounds were inflicted that two generations of time have scarcely been able to heal.

As the result of this series of disruptions the General Synod of 1870 was but a remnant of the large and hopeful body of 1860. Its numbers were seriously diminished. Its institutions were weakened. Its "general" character was impugned. And its most conservative elements were gone. The left wing had been sobered by the events of the decade and the conservative party was still in the ascendancy. But the withdrawal of the Pennsylvania Ministerium and other conservative bodies deprived the General Synod of invaluable conservative scholarship and made the further advance of that body in doctrine and cultus a slow and painful process. The disruption was inevitable under

Effect on the General Synod

the circumstances, but for the time at least it impaired the progress of conservatism in the Church as a whole.

If we now inquire for the real cause of the disruption that lay behind the events enumerated, we find them several. In the first place there was a real difference in spirit between the majority of the General Synod on the one hand and the Pennsylvania Ministerium and its friends on the other. This difference was partly doctrinal. The Ministerium had made great speed in its confessional advance and now accepted all the symbolical books. None of the other synods in the General Synod did this. The predominating influences in the Ministerium were German, and they harbored a strong aversion to the remnant of revivalism and puritanism that still lingered in some parts of the General Synod. The Ministerium was in more direct touch with the Lutheran reaction in Germany and its inspiring literature, made more constant use of Luther's Catechism and German hymns, and received a larger part of the immigrant German pastors. All this deepened the Lutheran convictions of the Ministerium beyond those of the other synods. The correspondence of the leaders of that period and the columns of the Church papers make it clear that doctrinal differences were a potent factor in causing the irritation that produced disruption.

The Difference in Doctrine

Another element explaining the difference in spirit between the two parties is found in their dissenting views of Church government. The Pennsylvania Ministerium, so much older and larger than the other

synods, was always jealous of its rights and unwilling to lose its life or merge its activity in that of any general organization. The Ministerium claimed that the general organization was only a conference and had only advisory powers, that the definition of doctrine, the founding of seminaries, the preparation of liturgies and hymn-books, and the benevolent work of the Church, is the business of the district synods and not the General Synod. The majority in the General Synod, on the other hand, stood for centralization of power. They wanted a general church authority whose decisions would regulate the doctrinal and practical affairs of the synods. These two conceptions of church polity may be traced through all the events of disruption and reconstruction. As the events of the Civil War increased the centralization of power in the hands of the Federal government, so the withdrawal of the Pennsylvania Ministerium strengthened the centralizing theory of government in the General Synod, and some of the most important practical decisions in the history of the General Synod were made in 1869.

The Difference in Polity

This difference of spirit, growing out of a divergence of confessional position and varied conceptions of church government, was further aggravated by personal differences. Certainly personal differences were a potent factor in the establishment of the new seminary in 1864, and the founding of the new school in turn greatly increased the conflict of personalities. Personalities also were the main factor in producing the

Personal Differences

tragic event at Fort Wayne in 1866. But party spirit was everywhere at its zenith. Religious verities were sometimes overshadowed by political expedients. The prevailing tone in all spheres was combat and strife. General unity was lacking in the Lutheran Church of Muhlenberg development, and at such a time in the history of the nation it was not to be expected that organic union of the Church would be preserved.

It was better, no doubt, that each party should go its own way until in the providence of God the spirit of the times should have completely changed and the development of doctrine and cultus on the one hand and the progress of church polity and benevolent operations on the other hand should have brought the scattered members of the household together in true unity and organic union.

PART V

IN THE DAYS OF BIG BUSINESS

(1870-1910)

EXPANSION AND ENTERPRISE

CHAPTER XVIII

GENERAL BACKGROUND

The next period of forty years in the history of the nation was characterized by the spirit of enterprise. Beginning with the year 1870 the United States entered upon a career of phenomenal economic growth. This new economy brought changes that affected every department of human interest. It profoundly modified the general trend both of politics and of religion.

Economic Growth

The population of the country increased during these forty years from forty millions to ninety-three millions. Nearly one-half of this increase was due to immigration. In constantly swelling numbers Europeans were again invading American shores. From 400,000 in 1870 the annual number of immigrants grew until during the last five years of this period it passed the million mark. Until the middle of the period the immigrants came most largely from central and northern Europe and gave themselves chiefly to agriculture in the Middle West and the Northwest. This greatly increased the resources and responsibilities of the Lutheran Church. But after 1890 the tide began to flow in increasing proportions from southern and eastern Europe. This new type of immigrant, with his illiteracy and low standards of living, helped to increase the crowded conditions of the cities and raised a whole host of

Immigration

political and religious problems for solution. The city population of the nation grew from twenty per cent of the total in 1870 to forty-six per cent in 1910, and the farmers now numbered less than one-third of the total population.

But while the population of the country was being multiplied by two and a half, the wealth of the nation was being multiplied by ten. This led to wholesale extension and consolidation of business. A striking illustration is found in the business of building and operating railroads. The opening up of the Northwestern States and territories and the rapid development of the natural resources of the whole country called for new lines and better facilities, so that in 1910 the total mileage reached the enormous figure of a quarter of a million. Railroads embraced one-seventh of the total wealth of the nation. More significant than the growth of the railroads was the consolidation of management. In 1904 all the important lines were owned by seven or eight groups of capitalists. This destroyed competition and permitted discrimination in rates. Throughout the period efforts were made to regulate such abuses. But the business was too big for individual states to control. So in 1887 the national Congress legislated on the whole matter and created the Inter-State Commerce Commission to investigate complaints and punish violations. Opinions differ as to the success of this Commission in overcoming monopolies and preventing "conspiracies in restraint of trade." But the point of importance here is that the federal govern-

Growth of Business

ment was forced to recognize the new situation created by "big business" and to assume new powers in the interest of the common good.

The consolidation of capital and management that began in the field of transportation soon spread to other lines of production and commerce. Small individual enterprises gave way to large combinations. Small stores merged into department stores. Small firms grew into corporations. Corporations invented "trusts" of such size that competitors were quickly driven out of business and irresponsible monopolies were created. Trusts began with the Standard Oil Company, but they soon covered such important commodities as meat, steel, and so forth. For many years the efforts to control the trusts occupied the public interest and influenced national politics.

Combination of Capital

Another aspect of "big business" is found in the public service corporations. The great increase in the number of cities, together with the multiplying of inventions to minister to the comforts of life, led to combinations of capital to serve some single need of a whole city, such as water, electricity, gas, telephone, or street cars. These corporations furnished almost unlimited opportunities for political corruption, and the period abounds in instances of inefficient and dishonest city government. Public graft became an organized business. Occasional outbursts of public indignation, reflected in Church as well as State affairs, proved ineffectual to uproot the evil until those outbursts grew

Public Service and Graft

into a mighty tide of reform about the opening of the new century.

One effect of these developments in the sphere of business was a decided wave of social unrest. Socialism grew until in the elections of 1910 it polled nearly a million votes. Despite the vast increase in national wealth, great multitudes of the people were worse off than their fathers had been, and one-fifth of the nation was in a constant state of poverty. This was due to the centralization of wealth in the hands of the business specialist who was called the capitalist. Opportunities to rise out of poverty were greatly diminished. The typical laborer was the factory hand with practically no chance to become a capitalist. The relations between employer and employee became wholly commercial. There were no more free lands to be had from the public domain. Trusts reduced the chances of the laborer to compete in the labor market. Women invaded the labor market and helped to reduce wages. In his desperation the laboring man took a leaf from the business man's book and began to organize and combine. Already in 1870 forty trades had national organizations. The spirit of enterprise that moved the captain of industry was caught by the artisan and craftsman, and the trust found its counterpart among the laborers in the national "union." The trades unions soon organized into the strong American Federation of Labor, counting millions of members. With capital and labor thoroughly organized, war between the two was inevitable. The weapon of violence most fre-

Combination of Labor

quently used was the "strike." This weapon was used with increasing frequency and increasing success, but its disastrous effects upon the public led to a variety of efforts to control it and to adjust the differences between employer and employee. But the subject had too wide a scope to be successfully handled by the state governments, and very soon the national government began to devise many kinds of political machinery calculated to lessen strikes and end the labor war.

It will have been observed that every aspect of big business that we have sketched leads into the sphere of politics and finally engages the attention of the national government. The result was that a new spirit characterized the politics of this period. It was widely removed from the sectionalism of the preceding period.

A New Spirit in Politics

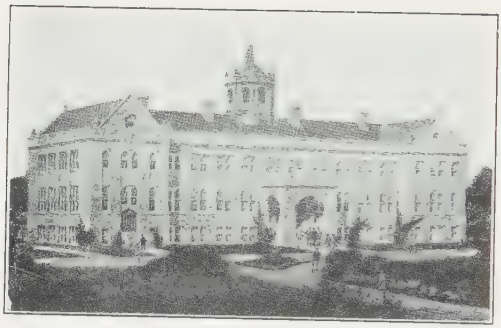
The spirit of enterprise that produced the business age and invaded every sphere of human activity was not limited to any section of the country. The South, no longer distracted by political reconstruction, began to feel the new impulse during the seventies and to reap its share of the industrial development. Mines and forests were turned to economic advantage, manufactures began on a large scale, and the old agricultural South was slowly transformed into a new South of diversified industries. The new spirit, therefore, that animated political life during this period ignored geographic bounds and covered the whole nation.

The dominant spirit in the politics of this period may be called the New Nationalism. This must not be confused with the spirit of nationality that dominated

the youth of the republic. It did not mean the strengthening of the federal government at the *expense* of the state governments. It meant the re-adjustment of all the functions of government, legislative, executive, and judicial, so as to meet the new problems that had arisen. The radical social changes that grew out of the nation's marvelous economic growth created a new national consciousness that called for the exercise of new powers of government. The unmistakable tendency towards specialized organization in American practical affairs produced a situation in society at large that could no longer be met by traditional theories of American government. The business age had produced the business specialist or millionaire, and the labor specialist or union, and the political specialist or boss. The continued progress of the nation, therefore, demanded the government specialist or reformer. From both of the great parties he came in generous numbers. He overturned many outworn political traditions and the result of his prophesying is known as the "new nationalism" because it answered to the new national consciousness, the new demand for social and industrial freedom, that had evolved since 1870.

The New Nationalism

The new political spirit did not have its home in any particular state or group of states. The earlier homogeneity of American society had been seriously impaired, and the mass of the people had fallen into definite social groups. The vertical lines of cleavage that divided the political mass into states had come to be far less important than the horizontal lines of



SOUTHERN SEMINARY, COLUMBIA, SOUTH CAROLINA

CONCORDIA SEMINARY, ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI

cleavage that divided the people into classes. The main political issues no longer concerned the respective powers and rights of states and federal government. These were clearly defined and the definitions were agreed to by all parts and parties of the nation. The chief political question was how to meet the social and industrial problems. Whether this was to be done through the exercise of state or federal power seemed to be a matter of little concern. But it was insisted that in every part of the complicated social fabric there must be *either* state *or* national control, so that no neutral sphere might be left open to predatory special interests.

Changed Problems

About the middle of this period a tide of moral earnestness began to swell in American political life. A group of aggressive young reformers began to appear in public life. A new meaning was infused into politics. A vigorous crusade began against vested wrong and problems of national dimensions were boldly attacked. But this progressive movement in politics had to forge new weapons for the strife with special privilege. New political machinery was invented to prevent the secret rule of monopoly, to allow less power to the political middleman and to produce more direct democracy. Some of the new devices were ballot reform, direct primary nominations, provisions against corruption in elections, the recall of officials, direct legislation by initiative and referendum, commission government of cities, and the direct election of United

The Progressive Movement

States Senators. As the same time a formidable body of national laws, bureaus and commissions were devised to deal with questions that transcended the bounds of states. Moreover, a number of movements not related to legislative bodies gave substantial aid in checking social diseases and sweetening common life. In these ways did the progressive movement in politics express itself. Its total effect was to curb the tyranny of special privilege and at the same time to take the sting out of organized socialism.

As a matter of practice, the new national spirit tended to strengthen the hands of the federal government. The business operations of the country had become nationalized and could be controlled only by the exercise of new national powers. The Interstate Commerce Commission was created and from time to time invested with powers touching a great variety of public interests. The national laws against trusts were given effective character and strengthened the powers of the national government. The national Congress entered new fields also by giving aid to states in their warfare against noxious practices of various kinds. The provision of an elastic currency by means of federal reserve banks under federal control increased the national authority. Of special significance was the doctrine of the conservation of national resources, the movement in the direction of federal ownership and control of forest lands, mineral lands, swamp lands, water ways, water-power sites, and so forth. These and many other measures indi-

Federal Government Strengthened

cate that the new nationalism not only strengthens the bonds of union among the states but also multiplies the powers of the central government and increases the force of the nation as such. But it must be emphasized that this tendency does not for a moment diminish the functions and joys of the individual states that compose the union. This is the chief point of distinction between the spirit of new nationalism that characterizes this period and the spirit of American nationality that characterized the first forty years in the life of the Republic.

The churches also gathered new impulses from the age of big business. The communicant membership of the churches multiplied more than twice as rapidly during the period as the general population of the nation. It grew from six and one-half millions, or eighteen per cent of the population in 1870, to thirty-five millions or forty-three per cent of the population in 1910. This great increase in relative strength of American Christianity gave the churches a sense of increased responsibility. At the same time the growing complexity of American society forced them to deal with special problems. The immense stream of immigration that poured into this country during these forty years and the changing character of that immigration raised a score of problems affecting the churches. The Roman Catholic Church received the largest number of the newcomers, but the Lutheran Church was a close second. And all the churches were obliged to deal with the problems arising out of the

New Problems for the Churches

congested foreign quarters in the cities, the discouraging condition of "down-town" churches, the abandoned country churches, the multiplication of languages, and the sudden migrations from older to newer states. To solve these extraordinary problems a double spirit of enterprise was needed in American Christianity. It was not lacking, because the same spirit of large undertaking that characterized men in the affairs of business and society in general, moved them also in their religious activities. The churches grew and prospered as they grew.

The multiplying wealth of the nation was reflected in the department of Church finance. All over the country old and outgrown church buildings were replaced with large and expensive structures. In every new community, suburban or rural, the church buildings were among the first to appear. The refined tastes of cities and towns were manifested in the erection of costly cathedrals and large churches of modern character. Expensive church adornments and elaborate furnishings became the order of the day. Exact business methods were applied. Budgets were devised and the lists of items were often quite formidable. Local activities were multiplied and in general the calls of benevolence were met with liberality. With the increasing resources of church members a new spirit of stewardship and enterprise was awakened.

Stewardship and Enterprise

The new machinery that was invented in the sphere of politics had its religious counterpart in the more intensive organization of the churches. The American

Churches conceived the absorbing purpose of saving the world and transforming society. And the fulfilling of that purpose they reduced to a regular business. To that end they invented agencies and administrators of the widest variety. It was an age of specialists and the religious specialist came on the scene in many guises. Systematic and business-like organization was one of the outstanding characteristics of the Church. In its completeness and enterprise it resembled in many ways the great commercial projects of the period, and in some cases the volume of its transactions rivaled that of the trusts. The Gospel enterprise created committees, societies, leagues, unions, and other organizations innumerable, covering both sexes and every stage of human life, for study, for prayer, for praise, for service, applying to every sort of human need and aimed at every habitation of man. No exigency was overlooked. The churches were filled with a veritable enthusiasm of organization for big business.

Intensive Organization

The new problems that faced American Christianity and the new activities that engaged the churches in these days of big business helped to bring it about that in their attitude towards one another the churches were characterized by a very different spirit from that which prevailed in the period of internal discord. During the middle period American Christians were busy cultivating schisms and promoting strife among themselves. It was a time of intolerant sectarianism. But they were also more or less diligently studying

Denominational Toleration

Church History. The history they studied was chiefly such as would at once deepen the interest of the individual denomination in its own inherited modes of thought and work. But continued far enough this study would also tend to weaken sectarian prejudices. The different churches continued to summon their members to a better knowledge of their own past and thus to stronger denominational attachments. But in addition they now began to summon their members to a cessation of denominational rivalry and strife. Each communion had become more conscious of its own historic life but now also more conscious of a mightier life common to them all and historic in a far grander sense than any of them. The continued study of Church History led men to see that the various types of Christian life represented in the various Christian Churches might be different without being necessarily in conflict.

This did not mean a return to the conditions that prevailed in the youth of the Republic. Confessional laxity and the desire for uniformity among the denominations in matters of belief or ritual or administration that prevailed in the early period did not reappear, but there was simply an inextinguishable longing for something like intellectual toleration, for the laying aside of the ill-will and jealousies and the conscientious hostility that battled in the middle period. As in political life there had come to be a clear definition of rights as between states and federal authority and a clear division of labor between

The New Denominationalism

them so as to cover the whole field of governmental need, recognizing that the nation must command the supreme allegiance of all the states and at the same time insisting that the rights of the states be freely asserted and frankly admitted by the national authority, so in religious life the supreme allegiance of the churches to Jesus Christ did not hinder them from remaining true to their separate histories and cultivating their denominational consciousness, while yet arranging among themselves such a division of sphere and labor as should leave no territory unoccupied to become the camping ground of such special privilege as the world, the flesh, and the devil. Such was the spirit among the denominations: toleration for all Christians together with a deepening of denominational life and interest. It runs quite parallel to the new nationalism that quenched the fires of sectionalism, and it may very well be termed "the new denominationalism."

As a matter of practice this did not mean a trend in the direction of Church union, but towards the consolidation of the denominations, each within itself. Many facts illustrate this, such as the Pan-Presbyterian Alliance, the Ecumenical Methodist Conferences, the World-Baptist Congress, and the various efforts of the smaller sects to return to the larger bodies from which they had split off. All these movements began in this period. Unionism among the churches had passed, but sectarianism also was passing and the dignified growth of tolerant denominationalism became the order of

Consolidating Denominations

the day. At the beginning of the nineteenth century Christians had fought against sectarianism. But their results were not lasting because they were mistaken in their methods. By seeking to hide the manifold life of Christianity beneath the temporary cloak of evangelicalism they had threatened to turn the Church Universal into one vast sect. The reaction could not fail to come, and in the middle period men hugged sectarianism in fond embrace. The end of the century heard another protest against all forms of narrow sectarianism. But this time there was little effort at artificial fusion of the churches and no tendency whatever to surrender distinctive tenets, but a calm and frank recognition of a unity of motive in the diversity of method.

General Significance

This meant for American Christianity in general an increase in what is sometimes called churchliness. In some quarters it meant also an increase in confessionalism, in others an increase in particular theories of church polity. Everywhere it meant a decided increase in the enterprise of evangelization, both at home and abroad.

Significance for Lutherans

In the history of the Lutheran Church in this period, therefore, we shall expect to find a deepening of our Church consciousness and an increase in loyalty to historic Lutheranism in doctrine and worship and practice, while at the same time we shall expect to find a more tolerant attitude towards all Christians everywhere. We shall expect to witness the workings of a

new spirit of enterprise and large undertaking in the proper business of our Church. We shall expect to learn of the rapid growth and zealous activity of new general bodies of Lutherans in this country. We shall expect to see "American Lutheranism" and internal discord give place to that "Pan-Lutheranism" and mutual understanding that foreshadows an age of larger units.

CHAPTER XIX

GROWTH IN NUMBERS AND BENEVOLENCE

The confirmed membership of the Lutheran Church in the United States increased in this period from less than half a million to nearly two and a quarter millions. This was the largest relative increase made during this period by any of the large denominations. The number of Lutherans passed the number of Presbyterians, and the Lutheran Church advanced from fourth to third place among the Protestant Churches in the country. Only the Methodists and the Baptists surpassed her numbers. Much of this increase was due to the strong tides of immigration that flowed into the country from Germany and the Scandinavian lands. It not only swelled the numbers of her membership and expanded her reach into the West and Northwest, but it also presented a great home missionary challenge and infused the spirit of enterprise into every line of the Church's benevolence.

Increased Membership

The immigration of Germans had been greatly reduced by the outbreak of the Civil War. But a few years after the close of the war a high wave began to roll in again. From 1866 until 1873 they came at the rate of one hundred and thirty thousand a year. Then the American panic of 1873 reduced the numbers by about two-thirds. In 1880 another upward bound began and 1882 was the record year with more than a quarter

German Immigrants

of a million German immigrants. After 1885 the numbers steadily declined, reaching the lowest point in 1898 with seventeen thousand immigrants. This was due to Germany's great growth as an industrial nation, less severe military duty, the disappearance of free land in America, and the increasing competition in the United States with cheap labor from southern and southeastern Europe. After the beginning of the twentieth century Germans came at the rate of about twenty thousand annually and directed their course chiefly to the western provinces of Canada.

The German immigrants of the period, aggregating more than three million souls, were not uniformly devoted to the Church. Many of them were people of culture and education. But they differed from the German immigrants of earlier periods in that they were chiefly interested in gaining economic and commercial advantages. Many of them became prominent in technical and professional branches. Large numbers of them went to swell the churchless multitudes of the land. These Germans went to all parts of the country and greatly enlarged the responsibilities of the Lutheran Church all over the land. But the largest numbers of them settled on the belt that spreads westward between the Ohio River and the Great Lakes and onward into the neighboring two tiers of trans-Mississippi states. All the large cities received tens of thousands of them but the zone of densest German settlement lay along the shores of Lakes Ontario, Erie and Michigan, along the Ohio River, and down the Missis-

Their Motives and Location

sippi from St. Paul to St. Louis. The Lutheran bodies in the Middle West were confronted with a tremendous home missionary opportunity and every Lutheran synod in the land felt an unprecedented impulse to missionary activity.

Another source of numerical increase of the Church at this time was Scandinavian immigration. More than a million and three-quarters of Scandinavians came to America during these forty years. They made essential contributions to the size and spirit of the Lutheran Church. One-half of them came from Sweden, one-third from Norway, and one-sixth from Denmark. The number of these Northmen who came during the middle period of the nineteenth century was never very large. Before the Civil War they did not average two thousand a year. But the glowing reports that these pioneers sent back to the fatherland, the alluring terms of the American homestead act of 1862, and the revival of business after the war, caused a rapid increase in the number of immigrants from these northern kingdoms until in 1882 it reached the high-water mark of more than one hundred thousand. Towards the end of the century financial stagnation in the United States produced a great decline in the number of immigrants. But the revival of prosperity in the first few years of the new century greatly swelled the number again until in 1903 seventy-seven thousand arrived. After that date the figures diminished rapidly for the same reasons that German immigration also declined at that time.

Scandinavian Immigrants

The Scandinavian immigrants of this period came to America to better their economic conditions. This is indicated by the way their numbers fluctuated with the changes in American business conditions. It is also indicated by the location of their settlements in the New World. The stream of immigration from Scandinavian lands wore a definite channel from eastern ports like New York and Boston to the gateways of the Northwest such as Chicago and Milwaukee. From these points it flowed out over the wilderness of the upper Mississippi Valley. It was the rich, unoccupied farming lands of that region that attracted them. Minnesota became their chief home, and before the end of the period had a Scandinavian population of over a million. Other states that received large numbers of the Northmen were Wisconsin, the Dakotas, Illinois, Michigan, and Iowa. During the later decades, with an increase in the proportion of skilled laborers, especially among the Swedes, some of the eastern cities, such as New York and Brooklyn and the cities of New England, have retained a considerable proportion. But fully three-fourths of them were massed in the fertile agricultural region of the Northwest.

Their Motives and Location

Nearly all of these Swedes, Norwegians and Danes were potential materials for the Lutheran Church in America. But they came in such huge numbers and were so thoroughly massed together on the American frontier that it was not possible for the Lutheran Church in America to reach them and assimilate them. Then, too, they were so engrossed in their business and

industrial occupations, and many of them were so glad to be free from the rigors of the State Churches in Europe, that they were not zealous in forming Church organizations among themselves. It is estimated that only seven per cent of the Danes joined any Church, not more than twenty per cent of the Swedes, and somewhat less than thirty per cent of the Norwegians. Nevertheless, the synods that had been formed among the Swedes and Norwegians during the preceding period received very large accessions from the new tide of immigration in this period.

Their Relation to the Church

Ever since the Swedes and Norwegians withdrew from the Synod of Northern Illinois in 1860, the Scandinavian Lutherans in America have developed their work for the most part independently of the other Lutheran bodies. In 1870 the Scandinavian Augustana Synod, which had been organized ten years earlier as we have seen, separated peacefully into the Swedish Augustana and the Norwegian Augustana Synods. The former, now a purely Swedish body, began to respond energetically to the great home missionary challenge arising out of the presence of such a large number of their countrymen. The spirit of enterprise took possession of the organization and in twenty-five years it grew from sixteen thousand members to a hundred thousand, and in the next twenty-five years doubled that number. Meanwhile several educational institutions were established to supplement the work of the schools at Rock Island. Gustavus Adolphus College

The Augustana Synod

at St. Peter, Minnesota, dates from 1862, Bethany College at Lindsborg, Kansas, was opened in 1881, and Upsala College at Kenilworth, New Jersey, in 1893. The internal history of the Augustana Synod, as related in the next chapter, clearly shows the effects of its remarkable progress in numbers and benevolence. The Synod was not without its inner conflicts, but the growth and activity of the body were exhilarating to its members and it succeeded in unifying the great Swedish constituency of the Lutheran Council in America. Its theological thought was steadily directed into conservative channels by Dr. T. N. Hasselquist, who for more than a quarter of a century was president of Augustana College and a teacher in the Theological Seminary there and editor of the *Augustana,* the official organ of the Synod.

But the Norwegians were even more successful in gathering their countrymen into the Lutheran Church. The Norwegian Lutheran Synod, organized in 1853, with only twenty-eight congregations, grew rapidly during this period until it embraced a membership of more than a hundred fifty thousand. For several years the Norwegian Synod was a member of the German Synodical Conference. But the largest body of Norwegian Lutherans was formed in 1890 when the strong Anti-Missouri Brotherhood, which had separated from the Norwegian Synod, united with the strong Norwegian-Danish Conference, and the smaller Norwegian Augustana Synod, and organized the United Norwegian Church. This body numbered more than a quarter of

The Norwegian Lutherans

a million members before the end of the period. Altogether the various organizations of Norwegian Lutherans in this country counted over half a million members in 1910. Their chief seminary is at St. Paul, Minnesota. Their largest college is St. Olaf College at Northfield, Minnesota, founded in 1874. Luther College at Decorah, Iowa, dates from 1861. Another large institution is Concordia College at Moorhead, Minnesota, which was opened in 1891. They have their official organs, the Norwegian in *Lutheraneren,* the English in *The United Lutheran.* With a variety of organization and a multitude of problems to distract them, the Norwegian Lutherans have yet labored manfully for unity among themselves, and they have manifested great zeal in all lines of missions and benevolence.

Danish Lutheran Bodies

The Danish immigrants effected two Church organizations. The first began in 1872 and is called the Danish Lutheran Church in America. It claimed to be a branch of the national church of Denmark and received aid from the Danish government, but it never numbered more than fifteen thousand members. The second organization began in 1884 when many of the Danes in the Norwegian-Danish Conference withdrew from that body. In 1896 they united with those who had separated from the Danish Lutheran Church in America because of its false doctrine and its State-Church ideas, and formed the United Danish Lutheran Church in America. This organization is only slightly larger than the older body of Danish Lutherans. The Danes have been much distracted by factional differ-

ences on questions of polity and of practice, and have not been so successful as the Swedes and Norwegians in gathering their immigrant countrymen into their churches or even in maintaining their hold on their own sons and daughters.

From the figures that have been enumerated it will be seen that more than three-fourths of the Scandinavian immigrants did not unite with the Lutheran Church. A very small percentage of them united with other American Churches. The vast majority of them, therefore, constituted a "Lutheran constituency" and presented a most inviting mission field for the Lutheran Church in this country, especially for the Lutheran Church of Scandinavian origin. The sturdy personal qualities of the Scandinavians together with their uniform loyalty to historic Lutheranism impelled them to take up the challenge and enter the field. The result was a high spirit of enterprise among the Swedes and Norwegians, a vigorous development of the practical activities of the Church, and as these Scandinavians constituted nearly one-fourth of all the Lutherans in America, their wholesome spirit reacted favorably on the entire Lutheran Church.

The Home Mission Challenge

Even apart from the increase due to the immigration of European Lutherans, much of the growth in the Church is accounted for by the natural increase of the Lutheran population in America and by the aggressive missionary spirit that began to pervade all branches of the Church. The impulse of big business was strongly felt in the benevolences and the practical

affairs of the Church. We have seen that in 1869 the General Synod centralized its chief branches of benevolence and put them in the hands of general boards. In this way the General Synod was prepared to go forward rapidly in its work when the new spirit of enterprise visited American Christianity. The energies and resources of the entire general body were marshalled behind the several lines of benevolent operation. Other general bodies were quick to see the practical advantages of thus unifying their benevolent forces instead of dividing them up among the district synods, and as rapidly as their theories of church polity would permit they proceeded to manufacture the new machinery necessary for the most effective combination of agencies. The result was seen not only in the more effective work in older lines of benevolence but also in the new branches of benevolence that began to receive cultivation and in the new fields that were opened by missionary agencies.

Enterprise in the Older Bodies

The General Synod and the General Council vied with each other in sending their home mission agents westward across the Mississippi Valley and then across the Rockies and on to the Pacific Coast. One by one the most strategic places were occupied. The only limit to the harvest was the lack of laborers to man the fields. The General Synod forces moved due westward from Ohio, Indiana and Illinois, while the General Council claimed the great Northwest as its territory. The new synods that were

Westward Movement of the General Synod

formed indicate the line of march. We have seen that the Kansas Synod was organized in 1868 and joined the General Synod. Then came the Nebraska Synod in 1871, the Rocky Mountain Synod in 1891, and the California Synod the same year. The General Synod was specially concerned to care for the English Lutherans who had migrated from the East. But it also helped to organize the immigrant Germans. The German Wartburg Synod sprang from the Central Illinois Synod in 1872 and united with the General Synod, and the German Nebraska Synod, organized in 1890, also joined the General Synod.

This westward expansion of the General Synod, together with the increases in the older parts of the body more than tripled its membership. The spirit of large undertaking was infused into its work, so that while the numbers in the General Synod were tripled the benevolences of the body increased ten fold.

General Synod Growth

The Board of Home Missions was thoroughly organized to explore the land and plant the Church. In these forty years the Board expended more than a million and a half of dollars, and established over six hundred new congregations, which of themselves contributed more than five million dollars for benevolence. In this work substantial aid was given by the Board of Church Extension, whose assets at the end of the period were approaching a million dollars.

The lack of pastors for the English Lutheran congregations of the western synods called for a college farther west than Carthage, Illinois. Accordingly,

in 1887 Midland College was founded at Atchison, Kansas, and in connection with it the Western Theological Seminary was opened in 1893. These institutions were afterwards removed to Fremont, Nebraska. Not a few of the graduates from older institutions in the East heeded the call to the inviting fields in the West.

Midland College

The Germans of the General Synod were the special object of care to Dr. J. D. Severinghaus. He brought pastors for them from Germany, especially from Breklum Seminary. In 1883 he established a German Seminary in Chicago, but thirteen years later the Wartburg and the German Nebraska Synods took charge of the work and transferred it to Atchison. The German Nebraska Synod afterwards established its own seminary, the Martin Luther Seminary at Lincoln, Nebraska. The German element in the General Synod founded its own publishing house at Burlington, Iowa, and its own church paper, the *Lutherischer Zionsbote.* But the General Synod became constantly more English and in 1910 only one-tenth of its pastors and congregations used the German language. The care of the Lutherans from Germany devolved most largely on other Lutheran bodies.

The Germans of the General Synod

In the General Council it was the Pittsburgh Synod that carried on home missionary work most extensively. It sent missionaries to Canada, Minnesota and Texas, and laid the foundation for the synods that were afterwards organized in these parts. The moving spirit in this work was Dr. Passavant. The work

was furthered and coordinated by the General Council's English and German Mission Boards after these were established. The missionary operations were pushed with special zeal in the fertile Lutheran territory of the Northwest.

Westward Expansion of the General Council

Very early in this period when the principles of the General Council were finally determined, a number of the synods that had engaged in the earlier negotiations withdrew from the organization. Such were the Wisconsin, Minnesota, Illinois and Michigan Synods. All of these joined the Missourians in the Synodical Conference. But the General Council made good these losses by its missionary advance into the Northwest. In 1871 it organized the Chicago Synod, until 1896 called the Indiana Synod. Then in 1891 came the English Synod of the Northwest. This was organized in order to conserve the many English missions that the General Council had established at strategical points in Wisconsin, Minnesota, the Dakotas, Utah, and Washington. In that same year a number of German congregations in the Canadian Northwest were united in the Manitoba Synod. Then in the organization of the Pacific Synod in 1901 out of the western part of the Synod of the Northwest, the General Council also reached the Pacific Coast. Immediately the work was pushed northward, and the Nova Scotia Synod was formed out of the Pittsburgh Synod in 1903 while the Central Canada Synod was organized by the General Council Board in 1908.

These new synods flourished, and to supply their

educational needs new schools were established. Thiel College was established in 1870 and finally located at Greenville, Pennsylvania. Wagner College was founded at Rochester, New York, in 1883 and afterwards transferred to Long Island. Dr. Passavant was instrumental in establishing the Chicago Theological Seminary in 1891 and under Dr. Weidner's direction it grew to great usefulness, particularly in furnishing ministerial supplies for the English congregations of the Northwest. The German Canada Synod and the Central Canada Synod drew their ministers largely from the Kropp Seminary in Germany, but when this source of supply was cut off in 1913 these two synods began to maintain their own seminary at Waterloo, Ontario. The Manitoba Synod has its school at Saskatoon since 1913. The Pacific Synod in 1911 founded a theological seminary at Portland, Oregon, but soon removed it to Seattle, Washington. Thus the geographical line of the educational advance also reached the Pacific Coast.

New Colleges and Seminaries

But while the missionary forces of the Church were following the westward movement of the population across the continent, they were at the same time helping to solve the problems growing out of the enormous increase of city population in the East. The growth of urban population was one of the striking characteristics of the business age. It called for a high spirit of enterprise on the part of the Church. All parts of the Lutheran Church responded to the call. A variety of

The Spirit of Enterprise

methods were employed, many hands were laid to the work, and a multiplicity of organizations were formed to minister to the spiritual needs of the expanding population. City missions and inner missions came on the scene with their respective boards, committees, and superintendents. The result was that the eastern synods grew rapidly in size and strength. They gathered the same spirit of enterprise from the consciousness of their rapid growth as the newly formed synods farther west gathered from the enthusiasm of their youth. In greater New York City alone, where at the close of the Civil War there were only two English Lutheran churches and twenty-two others, and where in 1870 there were only thirty-four in all, in 1910 there were no less than one hundred and thirty-four Lutheran Churches, and in 1918 one hundred and sixty-six. Lutheranism had become a force to be reckoned with in the religious life of the nation's metropolis. Similar progress was made in the other large cities of the land. But with all her large increases in city population during this period, the Lutheran Church continued to be predominantly a rural Church. Her membership in the country districts did not show the losses that many other denominations showed but grew and multiplied, so that in 1910 three-fourths of her members were found in rural communities and towns of less than 25,000 people.

The spirit of enterprise that characterized the Church in this period is further indicated by her foreign missionary achievements. In 1869 the field among the Telugus in India was divided, the Guntur

station being assigned to the General Synod and the Rajahmundry station to the General Council. The two missions maintained most cordial relations. The work was well supported by the Church both with men and with means. The number of the missionaries increased to thirty. The outstanding names are Unangst, Harpster and Uhl, of the General Synod, and Heyer, and Schmidt of the General Council. More than a thousand native workers were employed in Christian work. A hospital and a college were established at Guntur, and the medical and educational work of the mission received wide recognition. In 1910 the native membership on this field was nearly fifty thousand.

Mission in India

The mission established on the west coast of Africa by the General Synod through Morris Officer took an awful toll of the lives of missionaries because of the deadly climate. But reinforcements arrived from time to time and this mission furnished many examples of heroic faith and courage. The name of Dr. David A. Day is closely associated with the mission because he succeeded in continuing his splendid labors on that field for more than twenty years before the dread African fever carried him off.

In Africa

In Japan the Lutheran Church of America was first represented by the United Synod of the South. In 1892 work was begun in the city of Saga on the island of Kyushu. The mission soon extended its work to other cities on that island. The General Council cooperated in this work and

In Japan

in 1908 also established its own mission in Tokyo. Thus was laid the foundation of a large missionary undertaking in that progressive Empire.

The total contributions for foreign missions in the General Synod, the General Council, and the United Synod of the South during the last biennium of this period reached the half million mark.

Other Foreign Missions

The foreign missionary activity of the Joint Synod of Ohio and the German Synod of Iowa was carried on through the societies of Germany. The work of the Missouri Synod calls for a separate statement. The Scandinavians responded right nobly to the call of the foreign mission enterprise. The Augustana Synod cooperated with the General Council in its work in India, and in addition helped the societies of Sweden to carry on a very successful work in China. The Norwegian Lutherans in America also were very active in China, and their different bodies contributed $118,000 to this work in 1915. The Norwegians are likewise laboring extensively in the southern part of Madagascar. Altogether the various bodies of Lutherans in America in 1910 were making an annual expenditure for missions and other benevolences of two and a half millions of dollars and for local purposes an additional ten millions.

These facts and figures, concerning the growth in the numbers of Lutherans and the expansion of their benevolences, represent a splendid advance over preceding achievements along all lines. They show that the Church was alert to avail herself of every opportunity to help establish the Kingdom

of God on earth. She was ready to employ all manner of organization that a highly organized society could suggest. She made use of the newest inventions of science and the most approved methods of business in that scientific business age. She quickened all her movements to keep pace with those strenuous times. She accepted the peculiar responsibility devolving upon her to minister the age-old Gospel to the new needs of a rapidly growing nation. She no longer apologized for her existence on this continent, nor did she try to tone down her distinguishing characteristics. With a strong appeal to her membership for deeper devotion and more intense loyalty she drew together her forces, conserved her faith and her talent, and quietly proceeded to make her impress on the land of her adoption and to take her place as one of the outstanding forces in American Christianity of the twentieth century. But great as was the advance during the days of big business, these facts and figures are only a dim prophecy of much greater things yet to come.

Significance of the New Advance

CHAPTER XX

THE INNER DEVELOPMENT OF THE AUGUSTANA SYNOD*

Nowhere was the spirit of expansion and enterprise more evident in this period than among the Swedish Lutherans of America. It was the period of most rapid growth and greatest internal changes in the Augustana Synod. In order to understand this internal development it will be necessary to go back beyond the time when the synod was organized. For the general character of the body and its main lines of progress rest back upon the earlier history of the congregations that helped to constitute the Synod in 1860. The foundations of the synodical structure were wisely established by the pioneers long before the swelling tide of immigration in this period put the edifice to its severest test.

Historical Foundations

The Swedish settlements on the Delaware River in the seventeenth century lost all contact with old Sweden in the next century, and all immigration from Sweden to America ceased. At the beginning of the nineteenth century the common people of Sweden knew nothing of the old colony of their countrymen on the Delaware, and when in the fifth decade of that century the spirit of emigration began to move again among the Lutheran parishes of Sweden,

A New Beginning of Immigration

*For most of the materials embodied in this chapter the author is indebted to the Rev. Conrad Bergendoff, of the Augustana Synod.

the old Lutheran churches on the Delaware had passed out of Lutheran hands and so gave neither impulse nor direction to the new stream of Swedish immigration. It is wholly to this new current, therefore, that the Lutheran Church of America owes her stalwart Swedish constituency today.

At the beginning of that fifth decade of the nineteenth century the King of Sweden inaugurated a liberal policy and gave his subjects the privilege of emigrating without securing a special permit and paying a heavy fee. As early as 1841 Gustaf Unonius and a number of companions took advantage of that privilege and settled a small colony of Swedes at Pine Lake, Wisconsin. Unonius became a familiar figure in the religious history of the early Swedish settlements in the West. But he and his party were not the sort to effect a successful settlement in a new country and their colony soon came to nought.

Unonius at Pine Lake

Of greater vitality was the settlement under the leadership of Erik Janson in 1846. The Jansonites were religious fanatics who believed in their leader's inspiration and their own sinlessness. Persecuted in Sweden they emigrated to America and set up a communistic regime in the Bishop Hill Colony in Illinois. To this place their perverted religious enthusiasm attracted hundreds of families from Sweden during the next ten years. The colony went the way of similar religious ventures and about 1860 internal dissension and immorality combined to dissolve the organization. But its members

The Jansonites

must be counted among the vanguard of Swedish immigration to America.

But the great body of Swedish immigrants did not come, like the Jansonites, in search of greater civil and religious liberty. Their dominant motive was economic. The Swedes were by nature industrious and thrifty. But their opportunities in Sweden were limited by land conditions over which the peasantry had no control. The land was poor and unequally divided. The wealth of the country and the best part of the land was concentrated in a few hands, and a large portion of the intelligent and prudent classes were compelled to drag out their lives in poverty. When, therefore, letters from America began to reach the quiet hamlets of Sweden telling of the great land of opportunity beyond the Atlantic, the fever of emigration spread among the people and thousands set their faces steadfastly towards the West. Newspapers and other current literature spread the fever. Emigrant societies also aided the movement. And in the beginning of the sixth decade the tide of emigration began to flow strongly.

Emigration From Sweden

Most of these Swedish immigrants found homes in the Middle West. Only small groups remained behind in Massachusetts and New York. Entering at the port of New York their usual route of travel was up the Hudson to Albany, from there on the Erie Canal to Buffalo, and then through the Lakes to Chicago. From this point they made their way inland to Illinois,

Settling the Middle West

Iowa and Minnesota. Indiana, Michigan and Wisconsin also received scattered bands. The chief agents in determining their course of travel were two Swedish preachers, the brothers Olöf and Jonas Hedstrom, the one in New York, the other in Illinois. Not until the closing years of the century did the cities of the East offer industrial and commercial advantages attractive enough to detain any considerable number of the immigrants there. Meanwhile individuals and groups struck out to distant points, such as Texas, Florida and California. Of late years in particular the Great Northwest has drawn large numbers to its forests and cities. So that within half a century Swedish immigrants have penetrated to nearly every State in the Union. But the Middle West has always continued to be the home of the vast majority.

Much that was distinctly Swedish these destitute pilgrims in a foreign land had left behind forever. But not their religious devotion or their Lutheran convictions. Amid the hardships of pioneer life they persistently cultivated their faith. At many places the settlers came together regularly each week and selected one of their own number to lead the Sunday worship until an ordained pastor could be obtained. Those early days do not present the picture of pastors seeking congregations but rather of congregations seeking pastors. The Church of Sweden paid little attention to her sons and daughters in America, and not until a native ministry could be trained were the congregations even tolerably well cared for.

Calling for Pastors

But among the pastors in Sweden were many who had witnessed with anxious eyes the departure of their parishioners for America. Not a few of these pastors felt that the Church of Sweden was still responsible for those members. Such a one was Lars P. Esbjorn. With only a small subsidy from the Swedish Missionary Society he left his native Church and came to America in 1849. Following his countrymen westward his first field of labor presented itself at Andover, Illinois.

Esbjorn Arrives

Esbjorn is considered by Swedish Lutherans much as Muhlenberg is considered by those of German extraction. He was the real founder of the Augustana Synod. The labors of other pioneers may have been more evident in the superstructure, but the strong foundations were laid by Esbjorn. He was an indefatigable missionary and preached in new Swedish settlements near and far. He also traveled extensively among Eastern Lutherans to enlist their support of his work in Illinois.

His Work

The patriarch of Swedish Lutherans in America encountered many difficulties in his work. Not only did he contend with the poverty and hardship that was common to all pioneer communities, but he had also to face opposition within and without his Church. The immigrants held dearly to their Lutheran faith, but many of them were bitterly opposed to the State Church and its forms and representatives. As free Americans they stoutly refused to be bound again by

Difficulties From Within

what they considered the "bonds and bands" of the Church of Sweden. Yielding somewhat to this spirit of opposition, Esbjorn made certain changes in the forms prescribed by the Swedish Church Book. In matters of garb also compromises were made. But the opposition was never strong enough to force changes in essentials, and gradually it became clear that Swedish Lutheranism in America did not mean a State Church regime.

More stubborn and of greater injury was the opposition that Esbjorn's work encountered from without. Interlopers were busy. Swedish Methodist ministers early sought to win the newcomers away from their traditional faith. In some communities they succeeded. The Hedstrom brothers were Methodist, and their strategic positions helped them in their efforts to turn the Swedish Lutherans to Methodism. Later came Baptist intruders and threw many a peaceful settlement into turmoil. From the first, too, the Episcopal Church tried to win the State Church Lutherans who had lived under episcopal organization in Sweden. As early as 1849 Unonius had organized a Scandinavian Episcopal Church in America, and as late as 1874 Bishop Whitehouse officially proposed a union of the Augustana Synod with the Episcopal Church. Against all these disrupting tendencies, however, the pioneer churches with few exceptions held their ground and grew constantly more Lutheran in conviction and practice. The discussions that grew out of these contacts with other Churches only clarified the issues and

Opposition From Without

AUGUSTANA COLLEGE AND SEMINARY, ROCK ISLAND, ILLINOIS

strengthened the faith both of the pastors and the congregations of Swedish Lutherans. And everywhere during those formative years the pioneers felt the steadying hand of Lars P. Esbjorn.

The number of Swedish settlements in the land was constantly increasing as the tide of immigration continued to flow, and the call for pastors grew louder and louder. The call met with only a small response in Sweden, but the sterling quality of the few who came did much to help fill the need. They were devoted souls and wise leaders. Three years after Esbjorn had begun his work in America, T. N. Hasselquist came to Galesburg, and the next year Erland Carlsson arrived at Chicago. Both of these men were to have a large part in determining the character of the Augustana Synod. They encouraged talented and consecrated young men of the congregations to prepare themselves for the Gospel ministry and to receive licensure and ordination. They themselves undertook the work of teaching these younger men and thus gradually built up a native ministry that developed the work along the substantial lines laid down by the leaders.

Hasselquist and Carlsson

The ten years preceding 1860 were decisive for the temper and policy of the future Augustana Synod. During this period congregations continued to grow in size and in number through Indiana, Illinois, Iowa and Minnesota. Immanuel Church in Chicago came to have an important place. This was due to the leadership of Erland Carlsson. In the constitution that

Carlsson in Chicago

he prepared for his own congregation and the Swedish churches in Indiana he laid down the principles that were afterwards adopted by the congregations of the entire synod. His basis for membership in the congregations occupies middle ground between the comprehensive character of a State Church and the exclusive nature of sectarian congregations. In external practice Carlsson fearlessly adhered to the forms of the Swedish Church, and in this respect he exerted a profound influence on his brethren. Several parties were striving at that time for supremacy in the Church in Sweden, but Carlsson wisely refrained from identifying himself with any of these. He was above all else a zealous Christian and he set an example of sane, practical religion that left its traces on the synod with whose early life he was so closely identified. In home mission activity and educational work Carlsson started lines of development that are still unfinished.

At the same time that Carlsson was working in Chicago, Hasselquist in Galesburg and other places was impressing on the formative congregations something of his own simple, earnest piety. His visits were everywhere appreciated and his preaching had lasting effects on the hungering souls to whom he ministered the Word. He was a prince of preachers and Bible expositors and Swedish Lutherans still regard him as the ideal of the evangelical pulpit. Through the printed page Hasselquist reached countless more than he reached in person, and long before his periodical became the official organ of the Augustana Synod it

Hasselquist in Galesburg

brought inspiration and edification to the new Swedish communities throughout the Middle West.

Mention must also be made of O. C. T. Andren, the gifted pastor of the church at Moline, Illinois. The devout Christian spirit and the effective organization developed in his congregation exerted a wide influence on the whole Church. Nor would the record for the decade be complete without the name of Eric Norelius. He was very active during this period in the missionary and educational work of the congregations. He afterwards prepared the congregational constitution that was adopted by the synod. For over half a century he was one of the leaders in the synod.

Andren and Norelius

During that same decade, also, the Swedish churches united with their Norwegian brethren in those parts to form the United Scandinavian Conference. This was a deliberative organization in which the pastors and laymen of both nationalities met to discuss matters of common interest, such as congregational constitutions, care of vacant pastorates, religious instruction, church music, matters of liturgy, relations to other Lutheran bodies, and education of ministerial candidates. The last two of these questions, external relations and ministerial education, were frequent subjects of discussion in the Conference. For the United Scandinavian Conference belonged to the Northern Illinois Synod, a district of the General Synod, and the Scandinavians were not altogether happy in that relationship.

The United Scandinavian Conference

When the Northern Illinois Synod had been organized in 1851 Esbjorn had been present. But he had protested against the constitution then adopted, because of its declaration that the Augsburg Confession was "mainly correct" as "a summary of the fundamental doctrines of the Christian religion." The next year when the Northern Illinois Synod joined the General Synod, the attitude of the Swedes and Norwegians led to the statement that the union with the General Synod could not be taken to mean that everybody in the district synod agreed with the doctrinal position of the general body. In 1853 the word "mainly" was erased from the synod's constitution, and the Scandinavians joined the synod in supporting the newly established State University at Springfield, Illinois. A Scandinavian professorship was established at the school, and Esbjorn became the first Scandinavian professor, taking charge in 1858.

The Northern Illinois Synod

But the Scandinavians insisted on binding their professor to the Unaltered Augsburg Confession. This did not accord with the tastes of some of the other members of the Synod who were advocates of "American Lutheranism." It soon became evident that there was a serious difference between the Lutheranism of the United Scandinavian Conference and that of the rest of the Northern Illinois Synod. But open discussion of the issues was avoided. However, the incident of the Definite Platform was disquieting to the Scandinavians, and finally the reception of the

The Break With Northern Illinois

Melanchthon Synod into the General Synod together with the growing Lutheran consciousness of the Scandinavian Churches made the break inevitable. Esbjorn had been dissatisfied with conditions at Springfield, and in 1860 he declared it impossible to remain there any longer. He went to Chicago and set up a seminary in Immanuel Church, and nearly all of the Scandinavian students left the school at Springfield.

The Swedes and Norwegians were now free to develop their own synodical life. At a meeting of the Scandinavian Conference in the spring of 1860, Esbjorn's action was approved, and it was resolved to organize a new synod. This resolution was carried into effect at Jefferson Prairie, Wisconsin, in June, 1860, when the Augustana Synod came into being. There were then thirty-six Swedish congregations, fifteen in Illinois, thirteen in Minnesota, three in Iowa, three in Indiana, one in New York, and one in Pennsylvania. The communicant membership of the Synod included 3,747 Swedish members, cared for by twenty-five pastors, eight of whom were ordained at that first meeting.

Augustana Synod Organized

In the progress of the Augustana Synod since its organization in 1860 three well-defined periods may be distinguished. The first witnessed the steady growth of the synodical idea, and this period covers a round decade. The next period is characterized by the growing importance of the conferences in the Synod. This process covered about twenty-five years. The

Periods of Development

last period, that since 1895, has gathered the fruits of the first two periods in the form of continued growth and internal reorganization.

The new synod started on a sound Lutheran basis, as its very name suggests. It soon began to attack its internal problems with vigor and thus early developed its synodical consciousness. The first problem was to establish and thoroughly equip its Seminary. In 1863 this institution was removed from Chicago to Paxton, Illinois, and Hasselquist succeeded Esbjorn, who had returned to Sweden. During those early years much aid and encouragement came to the struggling school through the efforts of O. C. T. Andren. His mission to Sweden on behalf of the Seminary was signally successful. The Seminary remained in Paxton until 1875 when it received its final home in Rock Island. Here it developed college and academy departments. To these other departments have gradually been added until the curriculum now approaches university proportions.

The Seminary

The second problem for the synod during this first period was that of home missions. From the beginning the new body felt itself responsible for the vacant congregations and unorganized fields among the Swedes of America. To meet this responsibility a missionary committee was elected, and through this agency the work of extending the synod went on. As rapidly as possible means were secured and men commissioned to carry the ministry of the Word to the Swedish Lutherans in Kansas, in the Lake Superior region of Minnesota, in

Home Missions

western Iowa, in New York State, in Massachusetts and Vermont, in Michigan and Nebraska. In this way the geographical borders of the synod were spread by leaps and bounds, and the synodical consciousness of Augustana deepened year by year.

In addition to these questions of internal policy, external relationships also occupied the attention of the synod in the first decade of its life. In 1867 Dr. Hasselquist was present at the organization of the General Council. He was sufficiently impressed to urge his own synod to join the new body. But his brethren were cautious, in part perhaps because they had painful memories of a former alliance. By 1870, however, doubts had disappeared and union with the General Council was agreed on. Even in those early days the exact status of the Augustana Synod in the Council was not fully understood. There was so much disparity between the Augustana Synod and the other district synods in the Council that in certain parts of the Augustana Synod the demand eventually arose for withdrawal from the Council. But in 1870 it was felt that certain tasks of the Church could best be undertaken in common with other synods, and a common adherence to the Lutheran Confessions was considered sufficient cause for union. Accordingly the Augustana Synod united with the Council. Before this union took place, however, the Norwegians in the Augustana Synod asked for a separate organization. This was peaceably agreed to. So in 1870 the synod exchanged one ally for another, but for their Nor-

External Relations

wegian brethren the Swedes had only the kindliest feelings.

When in 1870 the Augustana Synod joined the General Council its ninety-nine Swedish congregations had attained a high degree of solidarity and had developed a clear consciousness of their own mission. Then began a new period in the history of the synod. The next twenty-five years were to witness a wide diversification of work among them and this in turn made necessary a new definition of the relation of the congregations to the synod. This period brought a tremendous number of immigrants from Sweden, and membership lists grew rapidly. The 16,000 members of 1870 were more than doubled in the next five years, and between 1880 and 1890 the membership doubled again. In 1895 the hundred thousand mark was passed, and the ninety-nine congregations had grown to 818, served by four hundred pastors.

More Rapid Growth

In the face of these conditions the old Mission Committee of the synod gave way to a new agency called the "Central Committee." This, as its name implies, was mainly a clearing house for the missionary work of the conferences. As the synodical agency saw that it could not care for the whole field conference divisions were recognized and even subdivisions into districts. Each conference became responsible for the missionary work on the territory it covered, though its mission board was subordinate to that of the synod. This decentralization not only relieved the

Conferences Assume the Work

Central Committee of an enormous task but also prompted the conferences to the performance of that task. More and more the conferences became the units of work within the synod. Kansas, Nebraska and New York established their own institutions of learning in this period. Nebraska, Illinois, and Minnesota started hospitals. Iowa, Kansas, New York and Illinois began orphanages. In general, these were years of intensive labor, and the comparative freedom given the conferences stimulated local endeavor.

By 1880 the synod had so far recognized the work of the conferences as to establish a Synodical Council. This was made up of representatives from the conferences and was designed to prepare the work of each meeting of the synod. In 1894 the new constitution of the synod officially approved of the conference organization and thus made permanent what necessity had originated. At the same session it became evident that the synod had now grown to such dimensions as to make impossible universal representation from the congregations. So it was decided that thereafter the conferences should elect representatives to the meeting of synod in proportion to their membership.

Synodical Council

The larger powers of the Church still remained in the hands of the synod, such as ordination of ministers, ministerial education, and matters pertaining to the liturgy, the hymnal, and the catechism. The synod likewise retained the responsibility of approving congregational constitutions and of fur-

Powers Retained by Synod

nishing the congregations with religious literature. A pension fund of almost a million dollars is also under synodical control. But of home mission work the synod had left to it after 1880 only such fields as were beyond the confines of the conferences. Such fields were on the Pacific Coast, in Mormon territory, and in Idaho, Montana, Alabama and Florida. All of these fields, except the Pacific Coast, are still cared for by the synod.

But as its home mission field decreased, the synod became more and more interested in the foreign field. The proposed mission to the American Indians came to naught. But in 1880 the synod undertook to support the work of the General Council among the Telugu peoples in India. From that date to the present the Augustana Synod has contributed much, both in men and means, to this field. In 1899 the mission in Porto Rico was begun by an Augustana man and it has since then claimed missionaries from that synod, though in 1903 the mission was assumed by the General Council. Of missionary character also are the Immigrant and Seamen's Missions which date from this period and are controlled directly by the synod.

Missions

The period since 1895 has been one of continued growth and internal re-organization. Congregations and conferences have forged steadily ahead. The membership has once more doubled itself. The congregations now number over twelve hundred and the pastors over seven hundred and fifty.

Since 1895

The practical activities of the synod have increased with its numbers and strength. The delegation of many of its powers to the conferences served to focus the attention of the synod upon its peculiar tasks. While extending its own home mission work and helping the weaker conferences in theirs, the synod has extended its activities in foreign missions. In 1908 the China Mission Society turned over the control of its mission to the Augustana Synod and that work calls for an annual budget of $100,000. The work in India has continued, and in 1917 a field in Africa was added. Inner Mission work has also been undertaken among the Swedes in metropolitan centers. Meanwhile the Woman's Home and Foreign Missionary Society, the Luther League, and the Brotherhood have built up strong and nation-wide organizations. Educational institutions have flourished all over the territory of the synod. The rapid development of English work among the congregations has led to the formation of the Association of English Churches, a body with duties and powers similar to those of the conferences.

Works of Love

While this process of rapid growth was taking place the elements of internal re-organization were at work. As early as 1904 the Minnesota Conference petitioned for the withdrawal of the synod from the union with the General Council. The union grew no firmer with the years. Language and organization, rather than doctrine or practice, tended to separate the two bodies. The Augustana Synod had itself assumed in large measure

Internal Reorganization

the character of a general body. And when in 1917 the General Council and the General Synod and the United Synod of the South agreed to unite and form the United Lutheran Church in America, the Augustana Synod was mindful of its own peculiar tasks and problems and therefore declined to enter the merger. The synod thereby became independent. Its willingness to combine with other Lutheran bodies in federated action is seen in its participation in the work of the National Lutheran Commission and in that of the National Lutheran Council. At the same time the ties of relationship with the Church of Sweden have been strengthened by the interchange of official representatives. And within the synod itself strong centralizing movements have recently been at work. These have found their final expression in the constitution of 1922.

In general the Christian life within the congregations is of a simple and devout character. Since the bitter Waldenstromian controversies in the seventies, concerning the doctrine of the atonement, the synod has been free from doctrinal strife. The later teachers and leaders, such as O. Olsson, S. P. A. Lindahl, P. J. Sward, Carl Swensson, and others, still living, have continued in the spirit and in the paths of the earlier fathers.

Piety and Peace

The Augustana Synod has not succeeded in bringing into its fold all of those who have immigrated to America from Sweden. But by the grace of God it has brought together a quarter of a million souls and

has conserved within its borders the best traits that the immigrants brought with them. To a very high degree it has succeeded in transplanting into American life those Christian virtues that are the peculiar fruits of four centuries of Christianity in old Sweden. The rapid growth and expansion of the synod, its thorough development of effective organization, and its high spirit of enterprise in the practical tasks of Christian love, constitute a worthy parallel in the life of the Church to the general spirit in the nation at large during this period.

General Significance

CHAPTER XXI

THE WORK OF THE MISSOURI SYNOD

The largest synodical unit of Lutherans in the United States until very recently was the Missouri Synod. This body was organized, as we have seen, in 1847 under the dominant influence of Dr. Walther and the other Lutherans from Saxony. The synod grew very rapidly and before the close of the nineteenth century numbered three quarters of a million souls. Its chief energy is directed to the maintenance of pure Lutheran doctrine. The protracted doctrinal controversies between Missouri and other bodies of Lutherans have already been mentioned. But it has always been aggressive also in the work of missions, both home and foreign. Its home missionary zeal, applied to the large numbers of the German immigrants during the latter part of the century, quickly led to a wide extension of the synodical borders. The synod has spread into every state of the Union and every part of Canada. At the seventy-fifth anniversary of the synod in 1922 it consisted of 3,309 congregations and 858 preaching stations, with a total of more than a million souls, served by nearly 2,500 pastors and professors and more than a thousand school teachers.

Origin and Growth

The synod is organized in twenty-six districts, three of which are in Canada and one in Brazil. Each district meets annually, has its own officers, and does

the home mission work within its own limits. Some of the districts maintain their own educational institutions and their own church papers. The districts with the largest number of mission stations are Minnesota, Kansas and Texas. Altogether the home mission work of the districts requires nearly half a million dollars a year.

Work of Districts

The entire synod meets in national convention every three years. The polity of the body is more nearly congregational than that of the other Lutheran bodies. The triennial convention is called the "Delegate Synod," because only those may vote who have been elected and delegated by the congregations. Much time is given at these conventions to the discussion of doctrinal papers, but the educational and missionary work of the Church is also considered.

Polity

The educational work of the Missouri Synod is planned for the thorough preparation of an orthodox and efficient body of pastors and teachers. It begins with the parochial schools and culminates in the theological seminary. In order to bring up their children in the nurture and admonition of the Lord the Missouri Lutherans maintain Christian day-schools in connection with their congregations. In the earlier days the pastors themselves did most of the teaching in these schools, but more and more regular teachers are being prepared and called to this work. At present five hundred ministers teach school throughout the week, but there

Schools

are more than twice that number of regularly called teachers besides three hundred women teachers. To prepare these regular teachers two normal schools are maintained by the synod. The normal schools have an enrollment of over five hundred men. At least five Lutheran high schools have also been established.

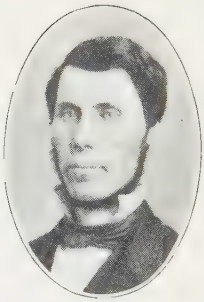
To prepare men for the theological seminary and for other professions than the ministry there are eleven colleges located at points convenient for different sections of the synod's territory. One of these is in Canada and one in Brazil. The usual course requires six years. The total enrollment of the colleges is about fourteen hundred.

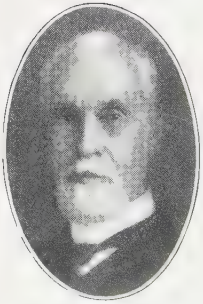
Colleges

The chief theological seminary is at St. Louis. It has eight teachers and about four hundred students. It is the largest Protestant theological seminary in the United States. This institution is growing rapidly, and a campaign has been launched to secure a million dollars for new buildings. The practical seminary at Springfield, Illinois, has about a hundred and fifty students. It grew out of the practical department of the seminary at St. Louis, and it has a two years' preliminary course besides the three years of theological work.

Seminaries

The synod has its own printing establishment, the Concordia Publishing House in St. Louis. This is one of the largest religious publishing houses in the United States. Many thousands of volumes are poured forth from its presses each year. Its greatest undertaking was the publication of a new edition of Luther's works in twenty-five handsome volumes. It also pub-





FOREIGN MISSIONARIES

E. Unangst, D.D.
David A. Day, D.D.
L. L. Uhl, D.D.

Rev. M. Officer
J. H. Harpster, D.D.
C. L. Brown, D.D.

lishes the Church papers, hymn books, school books and other books needed for the work of the Church. Its profits of hundreds of thousands of dollars it turns into the synodical treasury. The best known of the Missouri periodicals are the *Lutheraner,* the *Lutheran Witness,* and the theological magazines, *Lehre und Wehre,* the *Theological Quarterly* and the *Homiletical Magazine.* These are edited by the theological faculty of the seminary at St. Louis.

Publications

The foreign missionary work of the Missouri Synod is carried on in India and China. It was not begun until 1895, when the first missionary began work among the Tamils of East India. There are now seventeen missionaries, two teachers, one doctor and five nurses on that field. In China the work was begun in 1913. Hankow was chosen as the special field. Thirteen missionaries are now engaged in the field, but the work is still in its beginnings.

Foreign Missions

The home mission enterprise receives much attention from the Missouri Synod and its districts. The founders of the synod regarded as one of their foremost duties the task of building up Zion in the land of their pilgrimage. They bent their energies to the preparation of men who would go out among their German brethren and gather them into congregations pledged to thoroughgoing Lutheran orthodoxy. The heroic sacrifices and ceaseless toil of these home missionary pioneers accounts in large measure for the rapid growth of the

Home Missions

synod. Most of the home missionary operations are conducted by District Boards. There are twenty-five of these. The General Home Mission Treasury of the synod receives contributions from the congregations in all the districts and uses its funds to supplement the work of such districts as are unable to support all the missionaries they need. About half of the districts employ field secretaries to direct the missionary work within their respective borders. To aid in the work of home missions a Church Extension Fund of a million and a quarter dollars has been accumulated. One-third of this is in the hands of the District Boards. During the four hundredth anniversary of the Lutheran Reformation $350,000 was collected as a jubilee offering for this fund.

The charitable activities of the Missouri Synod are many and varied. The General Board of Support cares for invalid ministers, professors and teachers, and their widows and orphans. The Lutheran Laymen's League has undertaken to endow this Board with a fund of three million dollars, and already more than two and a half millions is in hand. During 1920 four hundred needy students were supported at Missouri's educational institutions at an outlay of $65,000. Missouri congregations contributed more than a million and a quarter dollars to the Red Cross during the World War, and more than $300,000 to European relief since the war. Other institutions of mercy within the Missouri Synod include 14 hospitals, 9 orphanages, 5 hospices, 13 home-finding societies, 3 institutions for deaf mutes, and 8

Charities

homes for the aged. The estimated value of the various charitable institutions is given at three and a half millions. Their annual expenses are more than a million.

The practical benevolences of the Missouri Synod, it will be observed, are not strongly centralized. The followers of Walther have always been strictly averse to any policy that might be interpreted as hierarchical or that might become such. They have been consistent in drawing the practical implications of their doctrine of the Church and the ministry. And they have refused to have any relations of Christian fellowship with Lutherans who do not interpret the confessions exactly as they do. But this distinct aversion to a strong central authority and this rigid attitude on the question of church fellowship has not prevented the Missouri Lutherans from entering a larger conference of conservative Lutherans.

Exclusiveness

In 1872 after the Joint Synod of Ohio had declined to join the General Council and the Synods of Wisconsin, Minnesota and Illinois, had withdrawn from the General Council, these synods all united with the Missouri Synod in forming the Synodical Conference. The main object of the new organization was to co-operate in educational work, but very little has been attempted in a practical way. The larger body is merely advisory, as its name suggests. It meets every two years. It is chiefly concerned with questions of doctrine. Ten years after the Synodical Conference was organized the Joint Synod of Ohio withdrew. Later

Synodical Conference

the Illinois Synod was merged with the Missouri Synod, and the Minnesota Synod was federated with the Wisconsin Synod. The Missouri Synod constitutes more than three-fourths of the entire Synodical Conference. Next to the Missouri Synod the largest member of the Conference is the Wisconsin Synod with about 260,000 souls. Other members are the Slovak Synod of Pennsylvania (13,000), and the Norwegian Synod of the Lutheran Church (6,500).

The chief practical work that is being done by the Synodical Conference is a flourishing mission among the colored people of the United States. The Board of Colored Missions has fifty-six organized congregations under its care and expends more than $100,000 annually. The work is carried on in most of the southern states and has recently been extended to the leading cities in the north. Colored laborers work side by side with the white missionaries, and two schools are engaged in preparing men for this work, Immanuel College at Greensboro, North Carolina, and Martin Luther College at New Orleans.

Work Among Negroes

From these facts and figures it is evident that the spirit of enterprise is rapidly invading this large and conservative body of Lutherans. The entire membership of the Missouri Synod is stoutly loyal to the principles of the body. The laymen have begun to enlist in the active work of the Church. New methods of work are being constantly devised. Larger resources are being placed at the service of the general Church.

Spirit of Enterprise

Modern methods of publicity and business administration are coming to be applied. And this new spirit of enterprise among the Missourians, together with their rapid growth in numbers and expansion in territory, their contagious enthusiasm for purity of doctrine, their constant emphasis on thorough educational methods, and their relatively large supply of ministerial candidates, make this branch of the Lutheran Church in our country one of the most vigorous elements in American Christianity.

CHAPTER XXII

THE LITURGICAL DEVELOPMENT

Another evidence of the new spirit that took possession of the Church in the days of big business is seen among the older general bodies in the sphere of public worship. Hitherto there had been no degree of uniformity in liturgical use among Lutherans and individualism had run riot in the devotions of the sanctuary. Of the many liturgies in use in various parts of the Church not one was a faithful expression of the Lutheran spirit or the rich liturgical heritage of the Church. But in this period the subject of worship and its form awakened special interest in the Lutheran Church in America. The Lutheran Church had become conscious of her power, not only the power of her numbers and the power of her piety and the power of her confessions, but also the power of her worship. It was still recognized that uniformity in worship is not necessary to the true unity of the Church, but at the same time Lutherans, like other Churches of that day, began to realize that such uniformity is not unimportant. So the demand arose for more uniformity and for forms of worship that would more completely express the power of the Lutheran heritage in that sphere.

Demand for Greater Uniformity

The result was a liturgical movement that included practically all the English-speaking Lutherans in this country and a very large portion of the German-speak-

ing Lutherans. It was a large undertaking and paralleled the great ventures of capital and other interests in the sphere of politics and industry at that time. It called for profound research and wisdom, for co-operation and forbearance, but it resulted in a common order of worship and a common hymnology that has met the devotional wants of most of the Lutherans in America. It was the first item of official co-operation among the three divisions of the Muhlenberg development. It was characteristic of the spirit of the Lutheran Church in this period, for it was not only in itself a large undertaking successfully carried through, but it was the forerunner of a period of larger unity and harmony and co-operation in the Lutheran Church in America.

A Large Undertaking

Until a year or two before 1870 there was not a single Lutheran liturgy that in character, form and completeness was worthy either of the Lutheran Church or her people. For more than a century individual synods and the General Synod had been laboring with the problem. Already in 1748 when Muhlenberg organized the Ministerium of Pennsylvania, the adoption of a liturgy was one of the principal topics that occupied the attention of the first meeting of that body. The liturgy that was then adopted had been prepared by Muhlenberg, Brunnholtz and Handschuh. It was based on the liturgies that were used in those parts of Germany where Muhlenberg had lived. Authorities on the subject have pronounced that liturgy

Liturgy of 1748

of 1748 the noblest and purest Lutheran service that the Church in America possessed until the period we are now reviewing.

But the liturgy adopted by the Ministerium of Pennsylvania in 1748 was never printed. It was copied by the pastors and introduced into their congregations. It came to be materially altered, and after an official revision was first published by order of the Ministerium in 1786. This revision was a decided injury to the pure Lutheran type of the older service. It showed that the liturgical taste of the leaders in the Church was suffering a decline. It was translated into English by Dr. Kunze and was published with a collection of English hymns in 1795 as part of Dr. Kunze's effort to prevent the defection of the English-speaking youth of the Lutheran Church to the Episcopal Church.

Liturgy of 1786

Then came the period of unionism and rationalism, when Reformed and rationalistic influences made themselves felt in the Lutheran forms of worship. A number of independent efforts were made to devise a liturgy that would receive general acceptance. In 1817 the New York Synod published its liturgy in connection with a collection of hymns and prayers. This was mainly the work of Dr. Quitman and shows throughout the marks of his rationalistic hand. The following year the Ministerium of Pennsylvania issued a revised liturgy which shows on every page the effects of the relaxed doctrinal position of that body. The responsive character of the service is almost entirely lost.

New York Liturgy of 1817

The observance of the Church Year is not adhered to. It seems probable that the Pennsylvania liturgy was strongly influenced by that of New York.

During the next period when the Ministerium of Pennsylvania recovered its Lutheran consciousness, the liturgy of 1818 proved very unsatisfactory and a complete revision was ordered. The new liturgy was largely the work of Dr. Demme. It appeared in 1842 and at first received generous approval from various synodical bodies. The General Synod published an English translation of it in 1847. But it was not much better than the form of 1818. It did not satisfy men of correct liturgical tastes and it was soon found that it did not supply the want of the Church. Another effort was made in the liturgy of 1855, published in English five years later. This was a distinct reaction against the low uses of the previous period and a decided improvement over its immediate predecessors. It restored the responses and contained many primitive orders. It was Scripturally pure and contained all the essential features of a true Lutheran service. But it contained a great deal of superfluous matter and the order of its parts did not accord with good liturgical construction. The English translation of 1860 made many changes in the original and showed that the leaven of a purer liturgical principle was at work. It prepared the way for the Church Book of 1868, published by the Ministerium of Pennsylvania and subsequently adopted by the entire General Council. This

Liturgies of 1842 and 1855

The Church Book, 1868

book was largely a monument to the learning and taste of Dr. B. M. Schmucker. It was based on a thorough scientific study of liturgical and hymnological sources. It wrought a great change in the worship of the Church as a whole in this country.

Meanwhile the General Synod had made a number of efforts to devise a liturgy that would satisfy the needs of its congregations and thus introduce some degree of uniformity into their worship. This was one of the purposes of the founding of a General Synod.

Early Efforts in the General Synod

The "Proposed Plan of Union" adopted in 1819 specified that the "General Synod has the exclusive right with the concurrence of a majority of the particular synods to introduce new books for general use in the public church service as well as to make improvements in the Liturgy," and the constitution provided for the accomplishment of that work, though it specifically disclaimed "the power of *prescribing* uniform ceremonies of religion." But in the weakness of its earlier years the General Synod accomplished little along the line of liturgy except the appointment of a committee on the subject. Twelve years passed before the first liturgy of the General Synod appeared.

Liturgy of 1832

The liturgy of 1832 was the work of Dr. G. A. Lintner of the Hartwick Synod, The original committee had been instructed to "adhere particularly to the New York Hymn Book and the German Liturgy of Pennsylvania as their guides." This instruction was partly followed. Eleven of the twelve sections in the

new liturgy are forms for ministerial acts. The other section, dealing with public worship, provides only a form of confession and prayer to be used at the opening, two forms for general prayers, and one for a benediction. The congregation is allowed no active part in worship except the singing of hymns.

At its next meeting the General Synod appointed a new committee on the subject with instructions to amend and enlarge the liturgy of 1832. In the hope of securing a degree of uniformity throughout the Church the committee watched the liturgical changes of the New York and Pennsylvania Synods. The guiding principle for the General Synod was expressed in a resolution, "That uniformity in public worship among us can only be secured by providing for the use of the Church a Liturgy that by its superior merits shall receive the sanction of the Church at large." But the General Synod did not publish another liturgy until 1847. This was a translation, with only a few changes, of the German liturgy that had been prepared by a joint committee of the New York Ministerium, the Pennsylvania Ministerium, and the Ohio Synod. Very high claims were made for this new liturgy, especially for its Scriptural and historical character. It was an improvement over that of 1832 and showed that the liturgical taste of the English-speaking part of the Church was also improving. The preface contained many excellent suggestions as to the value and the advantages of a liturgy. But it was no responsive liturgy at all. The people still stood silent before the

Liturgy of 1847

minister except in the hymns. It did not commend itself to the Church at large.

Almost immediately the General Synod appointed a committee to receive suggestions for the improvement of its liturgy. Many suggestions were made. The committee tried to make the changes and improvements that would meet the wishes expressed in various quarters of the Church, but finally gave up in despair because of the great diversity of taste and the many irreconcilable differences of view. But the General Synod refused to leave the matter to the district synods because, as one writer put it, "the conviction is extending itself more and more that our Church is liturgical, that such forms ought to constitute a part of our public worship, and that there should be uniformity in their use." So the committee was continued and in 1855 enlarged to embrace one member from each of the district synods, including the Pennsylvania Ministerium which had now joined the General Synod. The "pocket edition" of the liturgy was published in 1856 and differed from that of 1847 by including the Lord's Prayer and the Apostles' Creed. The liturgical influence of Dr. B. M. Schmucker now began to be felt in the General Synod.

Liturgy of 1856

But after the break in 1864 at York liturgical matters in the General Synod were in a rather chaotic condition for several years. In 1866 Dr. S. S. Schmucker, as head of the Committee on Liturgy, submitted a Provisional Liturgy that represented a great advance over previous liturgies in the General Synod. But it

was never adopted. Two years later a new committee was appointed and the number of members reduced to three. The most active member on this committee was Dr. J. G. Butler of Washington.

The Washington Service

The committee submitted a new liturgy to the General Synod in Washington, 1869. This liturgy was adopted with enthusiasm and was known as the "Washington Service." It depended largely on Dr. Schmucker's "Provisional Liturgy," but added the *Gloria Patri* after the opening sentences, the *Kyrie* after the Confession of sin and prayer, and the *Gloria in Excelsis* after the Apostles' Creed. It was the nearest approach to a historical order of service yet made by the General Synod. But it was only the beginning. Its preparation and adoption were the harbinger of a yet brighter day.

The Church Book of 1868 prepared by the Pennsylvania Ministerium and adopted by the General Council, and the Washington Service of 1869, prepared and adopted by the General Synod, marked the highest tide of liturgical attainment up to that time. But they were only preparatory to a much larger undertaking.

Variety of Usage Persists

Neither of them was entirely satisfying to its constituents, and above all, the deep longing for uniformity of worship among Lutherans remained unfulfilled. It was very clear that the liturgical problem of the Lutheran Church in America had not reached its final solution. One effort after another had been made but the liturgical taste of the Church as a whole remained unsatisfied. Not less than forty different liturgies had

been prepared and introduced in various quarters of the Church in less than a century. It was a distinct misfortune to the Church that she had so many liturgies. No one of them had become venerable in use. The cord was always broken, and there was no form of service through which the Church of today could express its communion with the Lord's saints in all ages past. There was the widest variety of liturgical taste and accordingly great diversity of practice.

But the inconveniences, disadvantages, and losses resulting from this abnormal state of things became so manifest in the days of big business that the desire was felt in all parts of the Church that a greater degree of uniformity in worship might prevail among the Lutherans in America. Men began to remind themselves of the wish expressed by the Patriarch Muhlenberg near the end of his life that "all the Evangelical Lutheran Congregations in the North American States were united with one another, that all used the same order of service, the same hymn-book, and in good and evil days would show an active sympathy and fraternally correspond with one another." The many liturgical efforts that had been made by synods and by individuals since Muhlenberg's time had been an educational process for the Church. Liturgical scholars had been developed and sound liturgical tastes had been cultivated. It had become clear that a liturgy to find general acceptance in the Lutheran Church, must conserve the liturgical treasures of the past and at the same time adapt them to the devotional needs of the

Ready for Common Action

present. The spirit of the Church and the tone of her scholarship were now such that the times were ripe for a great forward movement in the preparation of a common order of service, a common hymn-book, and a common order of ministerial acts.

Quite appropriately the initiative to the preparation of a common service came from the United Synod in the South. For the United Synod, in confessional position and liturgical practice, stood about mid-way between the General Synod and the General Council. By a resolution in 1876 the United Synod invited the General Synod and the General Council to co-operate in preparing "one common service for all English-speaking Lutherans in the United States." The General Council resolved to co-operate, "provided the rule which shall decide all questions in its preparation shall be: The common consent of the pure Lutheran liturgies of the sixteenth century, and when there is not an entire agreement among them, the consent of the largest number of those of greatest weight." The General Synod was busy trying to secure a revision of the "Washington Service" that would satisfy its congregations, but in 1883 received a petition from fifty-five of its pastors asking for an entirely new order of service "more in harmony with historic Lutheran books of worship and enunciating more clearly the doctrines of the Church." So that year the General Synod decided with enthusiasm to co-operate in the work on a common service and expressed its agreement with the condition set forth by the General Council.

A Common Service Projected

The three committees appointed by the general bodies organized as a joint committee in 1885, adopted several preliminary principles, and set to work upon their delicate task. The committee understood that its work was not to collect the private preferences of the members of the committee nor to devise anything new, but to "place on record the undisputed facts as to what constitutes a Lutheran Order of Service." It was agreed that no part of the proposed service should be used any longer than it should serve to edification, and that no service could be made binding on any congregation. The committee worked under the rule, "the common consent of the pure Lutheran liturgies of the sixteenth century."

The Committee at Work

The Common Service was completed and published in 1888. The result had been reached "not without a painful sacrifice of personal views and prejudices on the part of every member of the joint committee." It was adopted by all three of the general bodies at once. The Joint Synod of Ohio and the English Synod of Missouri afterwards adopted it. It represented a heroic attempt to demonstrate the essential unity of the Lutheran Church in America. No other Lutheran order of service ever had such wide acceptance. It was an undertaking worthy of the times in which it appeared. It was the high-tide of liturgical achievement in the Lutheran Church. It was not an invention. It was the "Common Service of the Christian Church of all ages." It was the fruit of a his-

The Common Service Adopted

torical growth, whose roots go back to the earliest ages of the Christian Church, whose essential parts were universally recognized by the Reformers, and whose development through the Christian centuries was possible only because it satisfied the devotional wants of the Christian heart and the worshiping congregation. It gave evidence of fervent love for the old faith and placed the Church of our day in communion with the devout assemblies of ancient days, enabling her to join her praises with the angelic hosts, and chant her hymns in the courts of glory.

The rule adopted by the three general bodies to govern the work of the Joint Committee on liturgy brought it about that the Common Service resembled the form used by the General Council in its Church Book of 1868. For that reason it encountered some opposition in the General Synod. Efforts were made to modify the action adopting the Common Service. It was charged that unwarranted changes had been made in the preliminary draft which the General Synod had adopted so spontaneously in 1885. The respective merits of the "Washington Service" and the "Common Service" were the subject of heated discussions. It was decided to publish them both in the General Synod Hymnal. A sharp controversy ensued within the General Synod, a controversy that was prolonged by personal and confessional issues. An "Abridged Common Service" was published separately in 1895. But the General Synod never changed its original action on the Common Service. The contro-

Controversy in the General Synod

versy only served to deepen appreciation of liturgical principles and the Common Service increased in popularity until the "Washington Service" became the exception.

Meanwhile the Joint Committee had prepared a standard English translation of Luther's Catechism and had been authorized to prepare a common book of ministerial acts and a common book of hymns. The Hymnal was ready in 1915 and appeared from the press in October, 1917. It was embodied in the "Common Service Book and Hymnal." In this new book the rubrics of the Common Service were greatly simplified. The musical settings for all the parts of the Service were improved and of course standardized for all three of the bodies. The collection of hymns differs from preceding hymnals in that it was prepared in harmony with the spirit of the liturgy and with the evangelical principle of the Church Year. In the chaste and appropriate selection of hymns, in the high standard of literary merit, and in the adaptation of the music to the text, the common hymnal represents the highest achievement of Lutheran devotion and scholarship. It has received unstinted commendation from competent critics even outside the Lutheran Church.

A Common Service Book and Hymnal

The liturgical development of the Lutheran Church in this period, we have seen, kept pace with the progress in numbers and benevolence. It is a worthy parallel to the spirit of large undertaking that moved in the general life of the times. It was the happy cul-

mination of a process extending over more than a century and a half. It satisfied the longing for closer approach among the Lutherans of America to common standards in devotional life and usages, and it bore unmistakable witness to the essential strength and spiritual oneness of the Lutheran Church in this country.

Significance of Liturgical Progress

CHAPTER XXIII

CONFESSIONAL CONSERVATION

Less tangible but none the less real and important than the development along the lines of benevolence and liturgy during this period was the progress of the Church along doctrinal lines. It was a necessary preliminary to the period of larger harmony and union that was to follow.

The General Synod advanced to a much clearer definition of its doctrinal basis. We have seen that when the General Synod was organized in 1820, out of consideration for the New York Ministerium and the Pennsylvania Ministerium, the constitution made no mention whatever of the Augsburg Confession. But when the General Synod was about to found its theological seminary in 1825 the professor was pledged to the Augsburg Confession and Luther's Catechisms as "a summary and correct exhibition of the fundamental doctrines of God's Word." And the model constitution recommended to the district synods in 1829 required the candidates for ordination to declare their belief "that the fundamental doctrines of the Word of God are taught in a manner substantially correct in the doctrinal articles of the Augsburg Confession." This indefinite statement led to confusion and difficulties. So the General Synod in 1864 passed a resolution declaring that all of the doctrines taught in the Augsburg Confession are fundamental doctrines

General Synod Progress to 1866

of God's Word and that the manner in which they are taught in the Augsburg Confession is entirely correct. At the same time a proposed amendment to the constitution of the General Synod was submitted to the district synods. This amendment changed the doctrinal basis of the body to make it receive "The Word of God as contained in the canonical Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments as the only infallible rule of faith and practice, and the Augsburg Confession as a correct exhibition of the fundamental doctrines of the Divine Word and of the faith of our Church founded upon that Word." This was ratified by the district synods and embodied in the constitution in 1866, and there the matter stood when the new period of history began.

The conservative party in the General Synod soon felt the need for a clearer definition of confessional basis. There were still some who interpreted the amendment of 1866 to mean that some of the subjects treated in the Augsburg Confession are not *fundamental* truths of the Bible and that on these points the Confession was not binding. Now the conservative party was in a clear majority but the bitterness caused by the founding of the General Council produced strained relations between the parties in the General Synod and impeded the development of the conservative element. The controversy over the Common Service also helped to prevent an impartial consideration of the confessional question. But the conservatives gained steadily in influence. The annual preparation and publication of the Holman lecture on

Conservatism in the General Synod

the Augsburg Confession at the Gettysburg Seminary led to a better understanding of that instrument. The publication of the English translation of Schmid's "Dogmatics" enabled the pastors to determine for themselves what are the doctrines of the Lutheran Church. The growing conservatism of her theological schools, the various influences coming from other Lutheran bodies, and a number of other factors contributed to the conservation of the faith in General Synod circles.

By 1895 the smoke of battle had cleared away sufficiently to permit the passing of a resolution that "This convention of the General Synod expresses its entire satisfaction with the present form of doctrinal basis and confessional subscription, which is the Word of God, as the infallible rule of faith and practice, and the Unaltered Augsburg Confession as throughout in perfect consistence with it—nothing more, nothing less." This committed the General Synod definitely to the *entire* Augsburg Confession. And here for the first time the *Unaltered* Augsburg Confession was mentioned. This is the term that was used by all other Lutheran bodies to specify the first edition of the Confession in contrast to later editions which were changed in important parts. It was the first edition that all parties had always had in mind, but now it was clearly specified. Another effort at clearer definition was made in a resolution of 1901: "We hold that to make any distinction between fundamental and so-called non-fundamental doctrines in the Augsburg Confession is

Resolutions of 1895 and 1901

contrary to the basis of the General Synod as set forth in our formula of confessional subscription."

But in spite of these resolutions the General Council and other Lutheran bodies persisted in questioning the sound Lutheranism of the General Synod. These criticisms were based on the fact that the resolutions of 1895 and 1901 were not incorporated in the constitution, that no mention was made of the other confessional writings of the Lutheran Church besides the Augsburg Confession, and that the constitutional amendment of 1866 spoke of "the Word of God as *contained* in the Canonical Scriptures," the very expression used by negative critics to discredit large portions of the Bible. To silence these criticisms and repudiate the charges growing out of them the General Synod in 1909 adopted a long series of statements repeating and explaining the previous declarations, maintaining its adherence to the proposition that "the Bible *is* the Word of God," disavowing any real change in its confessional basis since 1866, but adding its appreciation of the other Lutheran Confessions "as a most valuable body of Lutheran belief, explaining and unfolding the doctrines of the Augsburg Confession."

Statements of 1909

Then, in order further to clarify the confessional atmosphere, another important step was taken. The General Synod's Committee on Common Service was charged with the duty of gathering these various doctrinal statements into concise form and preparing them to be embodied in the constitution of the General Synod as a restatement of its doctrinal position. This

was done. Two new articles were inserted in the constitution. The article "on doctrinal basis" said that the General Synod holds "the canonical Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments as the Word of God" and "the Unaltered Augsburg Confession as a correct exhibition of the faith and doctrine of our Church as founded upon that Word." A separate article on "secondary symbols" said that the General Synod recognizes the other confessions in the Book of Concord as "expositions of Lutheran doctrine of great historical and interpretive value." This constitutional amendment was unanimously approved by the district synods. It was the culmination of a splendid forward movement in the confessional conservation of the General Synod, a movement that extended over forty years and placed that body on an unequivocal Lutheran basis.

Doctrinal Restatement of 1913

The General Council never changed "the fundamental principles of faith" that it had adopted when it was organized. The doctrinal position assumed in those principles was the distinguishing mark of the General Council throughout the fifty years of its life. It asserted that the Unaltered Augsburg Confession is by "pre-eminence" the Confession of the Lutheran faith, being "throughout in conformity with the pure truth of which God's Word is the only rule," that the other confessions in the Book of Concord are in perfect harmony with the Augsburg Confession, and that the confessions in order

Doctrinal Basis of the General Council

to be a bond of union must be understood in the same sense by those who subscribe to them. Thus the confessional basis of the General Council was very clear and very definite from the beginning, and no party within the body ever called it into question. As a doctrinal position it might have furnished the basis for a union of all the more conservative Lutheran bodies in America.

But the General Council was not static. It had to make its way forward to the solution of big problems. It was soon found that even among Lutherans of the strictest orthodoxy there were wide differences of opinion concerning the doctrinal teachings of the confessions. The variety of interpretation cropped out particularly in several matters of practice. The result was that the Missouri Synod refused to join the Council and most of the other western synods withdrew after the organization was formed, the Joint Synod of Ohio, the German Iowa Synod, and then the Wisconsin, Minnesota, Illinois and Michigan Synods. And throughout this period the General Council labored towards the solution of serious questions concerning the practical implications of the confessions.

Questions of Practice

At the very first convention of the General Council the Joint Synod of Ohio, supported by the German Iowa Synod, asked for a declaration on four subjects afterward noted as the "four points." The first was the question concerning chiliasm. Some theologians then in the Council had taught that the advent of Christ would be pre-

Chiliasm

millennial. This matter was settled when the Council in 1868 repudiated "Jewish opinions" and everything else condemned in the seventeenth article of the Augsburg Confession.

But the rest of the "four points" were not so easily settled. One of them was the question concerning secret societies. It was charged that in congregations belonging to synods in the General Council there were many members of secret societies which in their worship denied Christ, imposed oaths contrary to God's Word, and interfered with supreme loyalty to the Church. Ohio and Iowa demanded immediate and drastic discipline of such members. But the majority in the General Council preferred to be gradually educational rather than to proceed with summary discipline. So it issued a declaration on the subject in 1868 branding as un-Christian those secret societies that fall under the description in the complaint, warning its members and ministers against all fellowship with such societies, and threatening prompt discipline against those who persist in their "connection with infidel and immoral associations." This statement and the subsequent practice of the General Council were too mild to please the Lutherans of Ohio and Iowa, and for years they debated the subject with the General Council.

Secret Societies

The other two of the "four points" that occupied so much attention of the General Council were concerning the exchange of pulpits with ministers who were not Lutheran and concerning the admission of

non-Lutherans to the Lutheran communion altar. The discussion of these points disclosed differences of opinion within the General Council itself and the agitation extended over many years. In the synods of the East it had been customary for Lutheran preachers to preach occasionally in the pulpits of other evangelical denominations and occasionally to invite or admit ministers of other denominations to preach in their pulpits. To this practice the representatives of some of the western synods objected on the ground that it meant indifference to error. Then there were those in all sections of the General Council, particularly among the German and Scandinavian elements, who objected to the "general invitation" to the holy communion on various grounds, especially on the ground that it undermined church authority and church discipline and proclaimed the indifference of the pastor and the congregation to the view of the Lord's Supper held by the communicant.

Pulpit and Altar Fellowship

Several official deliverances were necessary before these questions of pulpit and altar fellowship were settled. In the course of the agitation several of the western synods withdrew from the Council. Of those that remained the New York Ministerium was specially zealous in demanding stricter regulations. The final action of the Council on these points is known as "the Galesburg Rule," from the place where the body was meeting when the action was taken in 1875. Three years before at Akron, Ohio, a statement of the presi-

The Galesburg Rule

dent of the Council was made the official action of the body as follows: "1. The rule is: Lutheran pulpits are for Lutheran ministers only; Lutheran altars are for Lutheran communicants only. 2. The exceptions to the rule belong to the sphere of privilege and not of right. 3. The determination of the exceptions is to be made in consonance with these principles by the conscientious judgment of pastors, as the cases arise." This simply meant that no one was to be admitted either to the pulpit or the altar unless the church, or its officers acting for it, were satisfied as to his fitness and preparation. It stated what was generally understood to be the practice in the churches of the General Council. But at Galesburg the first sentence of the Akron statement was reaffirmed and a clause inserted to make it read "The rule, which accords with the Word of God and with the confessions of our Church, is," etc. Then a long controversy broke out over the meaning of terms and over the question whether the clause inserted at Galesburg did not dispense with the second and third articles admitting exceptions. Session after session and year after year was occupied by the discussion. The strict constructionists denied the possibility of exceptions, interpreted "Lutheran" very exclusively, and understood "rule" in a legislative sense. But the author of the Akron Declaration defined the word "rule" to be "not governmental but educational." The Council had long before declared that the persons to be excluded from the Lutheran altar are the "fundamental errorists," that is, "those who wilfully, wickedly, and persistently desert, in

whole or in part, the Christian faith." And in 1889 it was finally decided that the entire Akron Declaration was still in force. This meant that exceptions to the rule were permissible and it left the whole matter largely to the discretion of the individual pastors.

These were some of the major difficulties with which the General Council had to deal in establishing unity among those who had originally adopted "the fundamental principles of faith and polity." The difficulties related to the practical application of the principles. The discussions were often prolonged and the issues confused by differences of nationality and language, and for years they proved a serious hinderance to the development and growth of the body. But in nearly every case they were carried through to complete clarity and thus solved some of the most pressing problems confronting the Lutheran Church in America.

The Problems Solved

Now the man who gave the fullest and deepest utterances on all these questions was Charles Porterfield Krauth. His was the most profound insight and his voice and pen always spoke with the highest degree of authority. Dr. Krauth had been trained in the college and seminary at Gettysburg, where his father was president and professor. He had preached five years in Baltimore, eight years at Martinsburg and Winchester, Virginia, and four years in Pittsburgh. In 1859 he came to Philadelphia as pastor of St. Mark's, but two years later he resigned the pastorate to become editor-in-chief of the *Lutheran*

Charles Porterfield Krauth

and Missionary. His own theological views underwent a development whose stages are easy to follow. That development was completed in 1865 shortly after he became professor of systematic theology in the new seminary in Philadelphia. His theological position and his great personal talents pre-eminently fitted him to take the chief part in recovering conservative Lutheranism and placing it on a secure basis among the English-speaking Lutherans in America. His incisive and exhaustive articles in the *Lutheran and Missionary* made him easily the most brilliant religious pamphleteer among that generation of Americans. His thorough scholarship was widely recognized outside of the Lutheran Church. He was professor of philosophy at the University of Pennsylvania from 1868 to his death in 1883, and several of his larger publications are in that field.

Dr. Krauth took a prominent part in the formation of the General Council. It was he who wrote the "fundamental principles of faith and polity" that established the basic character of the body. He composed the model constitution for congregations that was adopted in 1880. He co-operated actively in producing the Church Book. From 1870 to 1880, that critical period in the history of the General Council, he was its president. The Akron Declaration in 1872 and the one hundred and five theses on altar and pulpit fellowship in 1877 were his composition. His most important publication was "The Conservative Reformation and Its Theology," published in 1872. This was chiefly

His Influence

a series of articles that had appeared before, but because of its profound learning, exhaustive research, and brilliant style it is widely recognized to this day as the completest statement in English of the position of the Lutheran Church in America. As professor of systematic theology in the Philadelphia Seminary he moulded the views of most of the ministers in the Council. In short, the personality, scholarship, and theology of Charles Porterfield Krauth, more than that of any other man, determined the character of the General Council throughout its history.

In addition to the discussions on the "four points" the language question figured prominently in the development of the General Council. Germans, English, Swedes, all had strong representation in the body. At the urgency of the Swedes English was made the official language of the Council, but the controversy on the subject extended over many years. It was finally agreed on all sides that it is just as possible to hold the Lutheran faith and to observe Lutheran usages in the English language as the German.

The Problem of Language

Towards the end of this period the General Council began to interpret its "fundamental principles of church polity" in such a way as to permit a greater centralization of the practical work of the Council. The home mission work especially, it was seen, could best be carried on through a central agency. Then the policy of unification gradually came to be applied to other lines of benevolence, as in the General Synod. This was largely due to the influence of Dr. T. E.

Schmauk, the president of the General Council during the last fifteen years of its existence. Dr. Schmauk was a man of intense energy, profound scholarship, and broad statesmanship. He exerted a more varied influence on the life of the Church than any other leader since Muhlenberg. He knew how to fuse the diverse elements within the Council. He magnified the importance of the general organization over which he presided, and by his skillful administration of the affairs of that body he steadily gathered more and more power into the hands of the General Council as such and increasingly brought its boards, committees, and voluntary agencies under the direct control of the general body. But this process of centralization was greatly retarded by the special claims of the large Swedish Augustana Synod, and the General Council at all times guaranteed the internal independence of its constituent district synods. And so the General Council always found its chief function in maintaining the spirit of progressive conservatism in the thought and practice of the Lutheran Church in America.

T. E. Schmauk and Centralization

In the South also the Lutherans reached a more definite confessional basis during this period. The General Synod of the South, organized in 1863 by delegates of the Synods of Virginia, Southwest Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina and Georgia, stated in its doctrinal basis that the "Apostles' Creed, the Nicene Creed, and the Augsburg Confession con-

Position of Southern Lutherans

LUTHERAN THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY, PHILADELPHIA

tain the fundamental doctrines of the Sacred Scriptures" which "*are* the Word of God," but allowed a difference of interpretation of several articles of the Augsburg Confession. In the revised constitution of 1868 no mention is made of a difference of interpretation of the Augsburg Confession; and the candidate for ordination is required to pledge fidelity to "the Word of God and to the *Confessions* of our Lutheran Church founded thereon." In 1872 the General Synod of the South declared that "It has placed itself unequivocally upon the Ecumenical Creeds and the Augsburg Confession in its true, native and original sense." Further progress in appreciation of the confessions is shown by the declaration in 1880 concerning "the symbols adopted subsequently to the Augsburg Confession," that the General Synod acknowledges them "as in accord with and an unfolding of the teachings of the Unaltered Augsburg Confession."

By 1886 the process of confessional conservation among the southern Lutherans had reached the point where the Tennessee Synod, always highly conservative since its organization in 1820, was willing to unite with the synods of the General Synod South and with the Holston Synod to form the "United Synod in the South." The constitution of the new body planted it squarely upon the symbolical books "as true and Scriptural developments of the doctrines taught in the Augsburg Confession, and in the perfect harmony of one and the same pure Scriptural faith." In

The Basis of the United Synod

accordance with this doctrinal basis a theological seminary was established in 1892 at Newberry, afterwards removed to Charleston, and finally located at Columbia. For some years the United Synod was obliged to discuss the troublesome questions of secret societies and pulpit and altar fellowship. But the Church in the South was averse to controversy and declined to legislate on these subjects. It was finally agreed to leave the questions undecided and to recognize the difference of opinion which exists, though sentiment constantly gravitated towards the stricter practice.

As to the general bodies of Lutherans centering in the Middle West, we cannot properly speak of confessional conservation. Among the Lutherans of Missouri, Ohio, Iowa and the Norwegians, super-confessional ground was taken from the beginning and kept. There was no progress either in the doctrinal positions occupied or in the interpretation of those positions. There were a number of serious controversies on doctrinal and practical matters, but these only served to mark more clearly the shadowy lines of difference among the general bodies. The predestination controversy raged almost without intermission throughout this period. It produced an enormous literature. The Missourians took Dr. Walther's position that God's election is the cause of man's salvation and even of man's faith, and they insisted on enforcing this position as the only confessionally Lutheran position on the subject. The result was the separation of the Joint Synod of Ohio from all connection with Missouri, a division among

Predestination Controversy

the Norwegians and the defection of a large majority of them from Missouri, and the alignment of the Iowa Synod with the "anti-Missourians." No kind of agreement could be reached. Confessionally there was no progress, and doctrinally very little.

It is interesting to observe, therefore, that the progress of every Lutheran body in this country has been marked by an increasing appreciation of the Confessions of the Church. It was no accident that the culmination of the confessional development in the older parts of the Church took place in the age of big business, at the very same time when the Church was making unprecedented strides in numerical increase, in geographical expansion, in benevolent operations, and in liturgical achievement. The same spirit of enterprise and large undertaking that charged the atmosphere of society in general and characterized the life of American Christianity as a whole and manifested itself in other lines of activity among Lutherans, naturally made itself felt also in the sphere of doctrine and brought most of the general bodies of Lutherans into such close approach to each other in their attitude towards the Confessions that it foreshadowed an era of still larger undertakings among them.

Prepared for A New Age

PART VI

IN AN AGE OF LARGER UNITS

(1910—)

The National and International View

CHAPTER XXIV

GENERAL BACKGROUND

In the second decade of the twentieth century a new spirit came upon society. Both Church and State caught the thrilling enthusiasm of a lofty idealism and almost immediately felt the chilling reaction from that enthusiasm. The one great event that profoundly affected all human relationships was the World War of 1914-1918. It is still too early to estimate the net gains to the Church and to the nation, but it is certain that neither of them will be again what it was before 1914. A new political situation, amounting to world-wide revolution, came into being and called for new alignments and new political machinery and larger combinations of forces. Likewise a new spiritual atmosphere, highly charged with possibilities, spread over the earth and called the Christian Church to unimagined opportunities and larger units of organization.

A New Era

The United States entered the arena of international politics and became the nation of first importance in that sphere. The way had been prepared for this new move in our national history. Before the close of the nineteenth century the government had adopted a more aggressive foreign policy and had made its influence felt over Latin America. Then the Spanish War in 1898 left the United States in possession of Porto Rico, Hawaii and the Philippines, with a pro-

The United States a World Power

tectorate over Cuba. Shortly after that the American government took the lead in establishing the "open door" policy in China that preserved the integrity of that country, and henceforth American diplomacy has been a powerful factor in the Far East. Repeatedly the United States had to take a hand in South American affairs to prevent European powers from seizing territory there. The building of the Panama Canal by the national government was another American project of international import. The United States took a creditable part in the Hague conferences on international arbitration. And finally America took the decisive part in the great World War and secured victory for the Allies. The federal government of the United States, which had begun as a mere rope of sand only a century and a quarter before, had now become a world power of the very first rank.

This series of events taught American citizens to think in terms of larger units than before. Forced to realize that the progressive arts and sciences of civilization had drawn the whole world together into one great neighborhood, they renounced for the time their vaunted isolation and become citizens of the world.

The International Mind

They acquired what has been called "the international mind." Then came a veritable flood of international organizations covering practically every sphere of human interest and activity, religious, social, educational, industrial, and political. But the one organization that occupied the foreground of the discussion was the international political organization.

The great War had clearly indicated the solidarity of the human race and proved the need for a body of international law that would be as binding on the nations as civil law is binding on individuals. A widespread demand arose for some guarantee against another such an outbreak among civilized nations, for fear that it would mean the death of civilization itself. American representatives at the Peace Conference that followed the great War insisted upon a definite international organization that would secure permanent peace among the great powers. And so for several years the world's hope of peace and prosperity seemed to rest in the United States of the world known as the "League of Nations."

This new "internationalism" in politics had its parallel in a new "interdenominationalism" in the sphere of religion. The war-time situation made new and extraordinary demands upon the Churches that could not be met by the denominations acting separately. Even before the war broke out there were a number of movements among the Christian Churches of America looking towards federation or administrative union. The Young Men's Christian Association and the Young Women's Christian Association were old organizations with no official relations with the denominations. But now a number of new organizations were born that sought to secure co-operation among the official Churches, though only within separate fields of activity. The Foreign Missions Conference of North America, established in 1895, is

Administrative Union in Religion

an officially representative body chosen by the foreign mission boards of the denominations and reporting to those boards. The Home Missions Council, organized in 1908, is similarly related to the home missionary agencies of the Churches. The Council of Women for Home Missions, dating from 1908, and the Federation of Women's Boards of Foreign Missions, dating from 1916, are associations of representatives from the corresponding women's boards of the denominations. The Council of Church Boards of Education was formed in 1911 and unites the educational agencies of the Churches. And the Sunday School Council of Evangelical Denominations, established in 1910, consists of the officially appointed representatives of the Sunday School agencies of the Churches. All of these organizations helped to create the new spirit of common counsel and co-operation among the Churches, and all of them gathered greater zeal and a widened scope of activity from the unusual demands arising out of the War.

But the interdenominational spirit of the times has expressed itself in a series of efforts to go beyond administrative union along special lines and to secure a federation of the denominations themselves. The earliest and most outstanding of these efforts is the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America. This organization dates from 1908. Its purpose is not union but federation, to encourage mutual counsel concerning the spiritual life and the religious activities of the Churches and to secure co-

Federal Council of Churches

operation in all matters affecting the moral and social condition of the people. Thirty denominations officially ratified the plan. The Federal Council at once began to serve as a clearing-house for a considerable number of denominational and interdenominational activities. It not only helped to co-ordinate the work of existing denominational agencies but it also established new agencies to meet new demands and to carry out new tasks which from the nature of the case could not be fulfilled by separate denominational agencies.

At the outbreak of the great War the Federal Council was the one interdenominational agency in existence directly representing the Churches of the United States. In those grand and awful days of congested human experience the Churches, each and all, immediately perceived the tremendous responsibility resting upon them. One by one they appointed their denominational commissions, some of them not without a considerable stretch of denominational authority. These commissions began to attack their vast problems with intense zeal and devotion. But it was soon found that, while there were many obvious differences among them, yet they had all set themselves to almost identical forms of service and were acting with startling identity of spirit and method. The impulse to unity was further stimulated by the very size of the tasks that confronted the Christian Churches. The responsibilities along several lines were too great for individual denominations to assume them. Then, too, the Churches had the example of unity among the nations at war. If

Problems of War

nations could hold their differences in abeyance, if parties and classes and economic interests could unite, even at sacrificial cost, it was felt that the Christian Churches could not refuse to join one another in sacrifice and loyalty. Moreover, much of the war-time work of the Churches involved proper understanding with the national government, and the national government for obvious reasons refused to deal with the Churches as separate organizations.

In this emergency the Federal Council of Churches was the organization most nearly qualified to speak in a representative capacity for the evangelical Churches of the United States. It organized its General War-Time Commission. This organization served as a clearing-house of information, a co-ordinating agency, a means of united expression, and an instrument for joint administration. In short, it served for the Churches in the United States a purpose somewhat parallel to that served by the united Supreme Command for the Allied armies in battle array. It was the completest expression of inter-denominationalism that had yet been reached. But it was born of an emergency.

General War-Time Commission

Another group of American Christians tried to organize an administrative union of denominations on an inclusive scale. This effort was called the Inter-Church World Movement. It began in 1918. It sought to unite practically all of the official agencies of the Churches. It had the laudable purpose

Inter-Church World Movement

of conserving the best impulses begotten during the war. It tried to combine the international mind with the impulse to Church unity. But it used the emergency methods of war-times. It was precipitate and lacked definition. The change of spirit that came over society after the war quickly dispelled the high hopes of the Inter-Church World Movement. It is only an incident of history that illustrates the temper of the times.

Meanwhile several efforts were made to go beyond federal and administrative union and achieve organic union. One of these was the World Conference on Faith and Order. This was initiated by the Protestant Episcopal Church in 1910. It sought to reunite Christendom. The proposed method is by ecumenical conferences and gradual growth of common understanding. But this plan has more and more clearly proved itself impossible, and even the first ecumenical conference is still only an ideal of the interdenominational mind. Another effort at organic union was fostered in a series of conferences in Philadelphia beginning in 1918. These conferences were held at the invitation of the Presbyterian Church. They aimed at the eventual union of the Churches by gradually merging their missionary and benevolent agencies. This movement met with very little real success. Organic union of the Christian Churches of the world, or even of the United States, has proved as impossible of realization as a super-government of the world in which the nations of the earth would sink their individual sovereignty.

World Conference on Faith and Order

The last few years have witnessed a sharp reaction both against internationalism in politics and against interdenominationalism in religion. When the war closed and the emergency passed, many lofty ideals were dissipated and many an organization was resolved into its constituent parts. Many an instance of unified effort that had been secured during the war by social or political pressure or by the deep stirring of human passions was found to have vanished completely when that pressure was removed and when these passions subsided. War measures could not be perpetuated in times of peace. The unity of command that was necessary on the battlefield and in the nation at home in order to secure unification of forces and ultimate success in the campaign could not be continued after the common enemy had been driven back. It needed only a few weeks of peace to show that much of what seemed to be unity both in Church and State was superficial and unreal, and much that was real possessed only temporary vitality.

Post-War Reaction

In the political world a rising tide of nationalism and racial patriotism has been making itself felt. During the war a number of new nations sprang into being and old nations were reborn. Much emphasis was laid upon the ideas of self-determination and national consciousness. Accordingly, after the war was over, the American nation rejected the internationalism of the "League of Nations" and gradually withdrew from entangling alliances in Europe. The

Revival of Nationalism

nervous desire to rush relationships subsided. Sharp differences and growing ill-will soon became manifest among the victorious nations. There was a sharp reassertion of national prejudices, ambitions and fears. Subsequent events have disclosed numerous friction points among the nations. Radical differences of policy among the peoples have injected a note of pessimism into the international mind, and that fundamental unity among the nations that would be necessary for a vigorous international organization is not yet in evidence. The individual nations are more concerned about fostering their national consciousness in each case, and the United States of America is devoting her main energies to the solution of her many serious internal problems.

In the religious world there has been most recently a growing emphasis on the denominational consciousness. The idea of self-determination made itself felt among the Churches as well as the nations. The artificially formed unions that had been so persistently attempted during the decade preceding the war came to nothing or were crowded into the background by more absorbing interests. Interdenominationalism declined with the passing of the impulsive idealism that had given it birth. The denominations found that they had their own internal problems as serious as those of the nation. Most of the large Churches discovered that their evangelical foundations were endangered and needed to be reinforced. Moreover, in the face of the world's appalling needs, calling

Revival of Denominationalism

for direct and immediate action, each denomination felt impelled to take inventory of its denominational possessions and make direct application of its resources to the impending world chaos. The bogey of mere bigness no longer inspires fear. Genuine unity of spirit has been found to be much more important than external union of organization. Among the divergent elements in American Christianity there has been a distinct movement towards the concentration into larger units of those elements that are essentially at one in their doctrines and spirit and method. The result has been a growing tendency towards denominational consolidation. It parallels the tendency in national political life.

Trend Among Lutherans

In the Lutheran Church the tendency towards denominational consolidation into larger units appeared earlier than in the other Churches. It characterizes the history of our Church in this period. In some cases the movement was hastened to completion by the strenuous impulses growing out of the war. But in general the unification movement among Lutherans was simply one part of the widespread tendency towards denominational consolidation that characterizes the church history of the most recent years.

LUTHER THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY, ST. PAUL, MINN.

CHAPTER XXV

THE NORWEGIAN LUTHERAN CHURCH OF AMERICA

The first definite expression of the growing solidarity among Lutherans in this period took place among the Norwegians. The three larger bodies of Norwegian Lutherans in America united in 1917 and formed an organization that embraces nearly ninety-five per cent of all the Lutherans of Norwegian nationality in America.

The Norwegians, as we have seen, from the beginning of their history in this country were divided into several groups by questions concerning doctrine and church practice. But with regard to the great issue of preserving the Lutheran faith as they had inherited it from their fathers they were all animated by the same spirit. With a pronounced spirit of freedom in all matters concerning the general management of church affairs they combined a conservatism in doctrine that has its root in their national character and that has given their church in this country its dignity and strength. This essential unity in evangelical faith together with the common ties of race and language early suggested organic union among the different groups. But many years passed before the various factions could be brought together on a common platform. During the period of internal discord divisions increased among them, so that by the year 1870 there were no less than eight separate Norwegian Lutheran

Variety of Organization

organizations or synods. To these one more was added in 1887 when the Anti-Missourian Brotherhood was formed.

But the days of big business brought a new spirit among the Norwegians and a number of efforts were made to reach a better understanding. The desire for co-operation was expressed in a series of free conferences. These paved the way for future union. The first result was the organization at Minneapolis in 1890 of the "United Norwegian Church of America." This was a merger of the Norwegian Augustana Synod (organized in 1860), the Danish Norwegian Conference (organized in 1870), and the Anti-Missourian Brotherhood (organized in 1887).

The United Church, 1890

The "United Church" was now easily the largest organization among Norwegian Lutherans. But two considerable groups of them still had no organic relations with the larger body. One of these was the Hauge's Synod. This was the oldest of Norwegian Synods in this country. It was organized in 1846 by Elling Eielsen. It was named by Norway's great evangelist-reformer and it always stood for positive and courageous evangelism and for vigorous development of lay leadership.

Hauge's Synod, 1846

The other group of Norwegians outside of the "United Church" in 1890 was the "Synod of the Norwegian Evangelical Lutheran Church of America," commonly known as the Norwegian Synod. This organi-

The Norwegian Synod, 1853

zation dated from 1853. It was sponsored by a group of men whose names became highly honored and respected among all Norwegians, such as Claussen, Stub, Preus, Brandt, Dietrichsen and Ottensen. These men came from the upper classes in Norway, were trained in the University, and ordained by the State Church. Coming to America they naturally stood for a strict interpretation of doctrine and close adherence to the ritual and church practices of the Church in Norway. They denied the right of laymen to conduct evangelistic meetings, and they had no dealings with the followers of Hauge. In 1872 they joined the Germans of the Missouri Synod in forming the Synodical Conference and co-operated in the work of the Seminary at St. Louis. But eleven years later they withdrew from fellowship with the Germans because of a violent controversy on the question of predestination between Professor Walther of the Missourians and Professor Schmidt of the Norwegians. The controversy caused a schism in the ranks of the Norwegian Synod itself, and in 1887 Schmidt withdrew with a large section of the Synod and formed the Anti-Missouri Brotherhood which joined the "United Church" in 1890.

The history of the "United Church" soon demonstrated the wisdom of union among the Norwegians. Conferences began to be held with the Norwegian Synod. Mutual understanding increased. But barriers to organic union seemed unsurmountable. The movement that finally resulted in the merger of the three large bodies began in 1905. The Hauge's Synod that year proposed to

The Merger in 1917

the other Norwegian Lutheran bodies that the question of union be once more discussed and if possible that a union of all Norwegian Lutherans in America be effected. Committees were appointed by the several bodies and the conferences and discussions began. Agreement was soon reached concerning the activities of laymen in the Church. More difficulty was experienced with the questions concerning election, conversion and predestination. But as the conferences proceeded the opposing parties approached common ground. Conciliatory resolutions were adopted and finally in 1916 all three bodies adopted the Articles of Union and declared that the essential unity that had been attained on matters of doctrine and practice was sufficient to warrant Church Union. The three bodies, therefore, celebrated the quadri-centennial of the Reformation in 1917 by holding their final conventions as separate bodies and then organizing the "Norwegian Lutheran Church of America."

This new organization was a fine exposition of the spirit of denominational consolidation that characterizes this period. It was an eloquent witness to the growing solidarity among Lutherans. The merger convention in St. Paul was the scene of the greatest enthusiasm. The delegates alone numbered 2,362. The impressive ceremonies on June 9th and 10th are regarded as the greatest Church demonstration ever held by Norwegians anywhere in the world.

Some idea concerning the significance of this movement and the great influence of this new body may be gained from the following figures. The united body

embraces about 1,300 ministers, 3,300 congregations, 500,000 baptized members and 300,000 confirmed members. The property valuation is over $6,000,000. There are twenty-eight institutions of learning and a large number of institutions of mercy, Orphans' Homes, Deaconess Motherhouses, Homes for the Aged, Immigrant and Seamen's Missions, and so forth. The three bodies that have consolidated have formally transferred more than $5,000,000 worth of property to the united organization. This includes all the educational and charitable institutions and the property on mission fields in the United States and China and Madagascar.

Its Significance

The Norwegian Lutheran Church of America is divided into nine districts embracing various sections of the country. There is an English Association composed of those congregations whose official language is English. This association is not, however, separate from the districts. Its members belong to the districts in which they reside and constitute a leavening influence so that the Norwegian language is slowly yielding to the English. The main theological seminary at St. Paul has a double course, a full Norwegian course and a full English course. About one-third of the services of the entire Church are now conducted in English. Official Church papers are published both in Norwegian and in English.

Its Character

The general body meets every three years. The district meetings are held annually. The national president is the Right Rev. H. G. Stub, D.D., who was for-

merly president of the Norwegian Synod. The national president and the district presidents devote all of their time to the work of their offices.

Its Meetings and Officers

The missionary work of the Church has received great impetus from the merger of organizations. Extensive missions are carried on in China, Madagascar, Africa and Alaska, and among the American Indians. The annual foreign mission budget amounts to nearly $500,000 and the home mission budget to $350,000.

Its Missions

Doctrinally the Norwegian Church rests on unconditional consent to the canonical books of Holy Scripture as the infallible Word of God and to the confessions of the Lutheran Church. The three bodies uniting in the merger have promised one another not to have Church fellowship with Church bodies that do not share the Lutheran faith and confessions. But the Norwegian Lutheran Church is desirous of fostering Lutheran solidarity and has manifested its willingness to co-operate with other Lutheran bodies in this country.

Its Doctrinal Position

The merger of the three Norwegian bodies includes all the Norwegian Lutherans in this country except the Norwegian Lutheran Free Church with its 185 ministers and its 29,000 members, and the Eielsen Synod with its seven ministers and 1500 members, and the Lutheran Brethren with their eleven ministers and 1,000 members. The logic of events would seem

Independent Norwegian Lutherans

to point towards their inclusion also in the newly formed body.

The notable success of the unification movement among the Norwegians was due in part to the fundamental unity of their faith, in part to the admirable patience which they exercised in their pursuit of union, and in part to the splendid assistance rendered by their laymen. The Norwegians in this country are intense Lutherans and loyal Americans, and as the use of the English language increases among them and their relations with other racial elements are multiplied, it will be found that closer union will be possible with the other Lutherans of America. Then the consummation of the merger in 1917 will be found to be only a step in the process of consolidation that brings the Lutherans of America into ever larger units.

Prospects

CHAPTER XXVI

THE UNITED LUTHERAN CHURCH IN AMERICA

The most significant event in this age of larger units was the organization of The United Lutheran Church in America in 1918. It attracted wider attention among Christians generally than any previous event in the whole history of the Lutheran Church in this country. The United Lutheran Church was formed by a merger of the General Synod, the General Council, and the United Synod of the South. These three bodies had lived severely apart from one another for more than fifty years and their organic union at one stroke was a fine illustration of the prevailing spirit of the times. The formation of the new body was fraught with greater possibilities for the future of the Lutheran Church in this country than any other event since the formation of the General Synod a hundred years earlier. It was the realization of one of Muhlenberg's ideals, and the example of denominational consolidation among Lutherans was warmly commended both by the religious and the secular press to the other great denominations whose forces are still divided.

Its Importance

The completion of the merger took place with a suddenness that startled many of the observers. But as a matter of fact the times were ripe for such an event and for more than a generation the way had been preparing. From the developments along the lines of benevolence and polity, of liturgy and doctrine,

The Logic of Events

we have seen that the three bodies of Muhlenberg descent in the days of big business had really attained fundamental unity among themselves. And a long series of events, extending over more than forty years, had led to a complete understanding of one another and so paved the way for organic union.

One of the first steps towards the reapproach of the separated Lutherans of the three eastern bodies was taken less than a decade after the schism had occurred. In 1873 the General Synod proposed an interchange of delegates. The General Council proposed instead an informal colloquium of representative men from the different bodies to determine what is the Lutheran faith. When no official action could be had a "Free Lutheran Diet" was held in 1877. This was originated by the private efforts of Dr. Morris of the General Synod and Dr. Seiss of the General Council. All Lutherans, clerical and lay, without regard to synodical connections, were invited to seats and membership in the Diet. The venture was so successful that a second Diet was held the next year. Thoroughly prepared papers were read and discussed and the proceedings of each diet were published in a volume that cast much light on living questions in the Lutheran Church.

Free Lutheran Diets

Shortly after that the three general bodies began to co-operate successfully in the work of liturgical reform. As we have seen, the preparation of a Common Service and a Common Hymnal and a common book of Minis-

terial Acts brought together many of the leading personalities of the different bodies and taught them to understand one another, to respect one another's sincerity and loyalty, and to labor together in a common cause. This work extended over a long period of years and continued with constantly increasing scope up to the very time of the merger. The harmonious commingling of personalities that it produced, as well as the common liturgical consciousness that it developed, did more than any other one factor to pave the way for the organic union of 1918.

Work on the Common Service

In 1895 the harmonious relations among the bodies had reached the point where they could begin to exchange official fraternal visitors. This resulted in 1898 in the First General Conference of Lutherans in America. This conference differed from the Diets of 1877 and 1878 by being officially sponsored by the general bodies. The expressed purpose of the conference was "to prepare the way for a better understanding and a more harmonious co-operation among the Lutherans" in the General Synod, the General Council, and the United Synod of the South. The conference was repeated in 1902 and again in 1904. The meetings attracted much attention and called together representative men from all three parts of the Church. The papers and discussions dealt with practical as well as doctrinal questions, laying special emphasis upon the common heritage of Lutherans, and the three volumes

General Conferences of Lutherans

of proceedings did much to remove misunderstandings and to promote the spirit of unity.

The celebration in 1883 of the four hundredth anniversary of Luther's birth was another factor promoting the spirit of unity among Lutherans. It led to a general review of Luther's life and teaching, and a higher appreciation of our common Lutheran heritage. Many Lutherans awoke for the first time to a real understanding of the distinctive features of Lutheranism as they witnessed the profound respect that the Reformer commanded among the best men of other Protestant Churches. The celebration assembled great multitudes of people and aroused intense enthusiasm. The Lutherans of each locality co-operated in the celebration without regard to synodical bounds. The literature inspired by the occasion, including two English translations of the life of Luther, helped to foster the spirit of common devotion to Lutheran standards. A number of general Lutheran undertakings can be traced to this anniversary.

The Celebration in 1883

Then there appeared a number of volumes that tended to cultivate a sense of oneness among all the Lutherans in America. Wolf's popular history of the "Lutherans in America" diffused among the people a wider outlook and a deeper acquaintance with the Church as a whole. Jacobs' history of the Lutheran Church in this country helped to develop the historical perspective and an appreciation of our common life as Lutherans. Still later Neve's brief history of the

Unifying Literature

Lutheran Church helped men to understand the issues at stake among the different bodies by depicting the sources of our various Lutheran synodical organizations. A book on "The Distinctive Doctrines and Usages of the Evangelical Lutheran Church," containing one chapter each by representatives of all the general bodies, frankly indicated the differences in point of view and at the same time showed the essential unity in fundamentals among the three eastern bodies. The "Lutheran Manual" by Dr. J. B. Remensnyder and the several Lutheran "handbooks" and annual "almanacs" also helped to obliterate inter-ecclesiastical lines by including all bodies in the enumeration of Lutheran strength and assets in this country. This study of the history and general standing of the Church as a whole led men to cultivate the nation-wide view and to think of themselves as members of the Lutheran Church rather than as members of a particular synod.

In the meantime the General Synod, General Council and the United Synod of the South had begun to co-operate along several lines of practical work. Very cordial relations were maintained among the foreign missionary agencies of the three bodies. For a time the Lutherans of the South supported a missionary in connection with the General Synod's mission at Guntur in India. Later the General Council and the United Synod co-operated in the mission work in Japan. The Foreign Mission Boards of the General Synod and the General Council sometimes exchanged missionaries and performed various mutual services in connection with the

Co-operation in Missions

missions in Guntur and Rajahmundry. This resulted in frequent conferences and a more fraternal attitude on the part of prominent workers in the several bodies. On the home mission field increasing efforts were made to prevent friction between the General Synod and the General Council. A Committee on Arbitration was appointed by the General Council in 1895 and a Commission on Practical Co-operation a few years later. In 1909 these were consolidated into the Home Mission Arbitration Commission. This commission labored effectively with a similar commission of the General Synod and greatly reduced the points of interference in the home mission enterprise. In this way on the foreign and home missionary fields the interests of the Church as a whole were put above the interests of separate organizations within the Church.

Another factor in the preparation for the merger is found in the numerous agencies that helped to bring together representatives of the different bodies and make them better acquainted. Such is, for example, the Luther Society of New York City, which originated in the Luther Jubilee of 1883. It is an association of laymen of standing without regard to their synodical relations, which holds an annual celebration on Reformation Day and an annual banquet in the winter. Another such organization is the Lutheran Social Union of Philadelphia which for many years has brought the ministers and laymen of the different bodies together in a social way. Other cities had similar associations. The Young People's Lutheran Association, which in

Unifying Organizations

1893 changed its name to "The Luther League," spread over all the general bodies and performed a splendid service in training the rising generation of Church members into a sense of Lutheran unity that ignored synodical differences. A similar function was performed for other groups of Lutherans by such organizations as the pan-Lutheran missionary conferences among students, the conference of Lutheran educators, the conference of Lutheran editors, the Lutheran Brotherhood, the Laymen's Missionary Movement, the Lutheran Historical Society, the Lutheran ministerial unions in various centers, and the Woman's Missionary Society. In all these ways the ministers and laymen of the three bodies frequently met together face to face in friendly consultation and thus there grew up a general spirit of fraternity and good-will that was very important in preparing the way for their ultimate union.

Through the years also the internal problems of the several bodies, problems doctrinal, liturgical and practical, had one by one reached solutions that in every case tended to mutual rapproachment among the separated bodies. When the age of larger units dawned the spirit of the new denominationalism had done its work and Lutherans began to face the fact that their various efforts to form "general" bodies had been painfully unsuccessful. Lutheran unity, the professed aim of many a diet and conference, was now taken for granted, and Lutheran union, long and earnestly disclaimed, became a subject of discussion wherever representatives of different general bodies were gath-

Times Ripe for Union

ered together. By the middle of the second decade in the new century the situation was such that it needed only some extraordinary occasion to bring about a merger of the three bodies.

The occasion was furnished by the Quadri-Centennial of the Reformation in 1917. The plans for the celebration of the four hundredth anniversary were laid on a most elaborate scale. As early as 1909 the General Council invited the General Synod, the United Synod, and other Lutheran bodies in the United States to co-operate in a worthy celebration.

The Quadri-Centennial in 1917

By 1913 the three eastern bodies had appointed committees to co-operate and the next year these committees organized as the "Joint Committee on the Celebration of the Quadri-Centennial of the Reformation." The Joint Committee opened offices in Philadelphia and called an executive secretary, and it was within this Committee that the first formal step was taken towards organic union of the three bodies.

At a meeting of the Joint Committee on April 18, 1917, several lay members of the Committee presented a resolution that had been adopted the evening before by a gathering of eight laymen requesting the Joint Committee to arrange a general meeting of Lutherans to formulate plans for the unification of the Lutheran Church in America. After an all-day discussion, in which the laymen strongly pressed for immediate and organic union, the following resolution was adopted by the Joint Committee with practical unanimity: "Believing that the

April 18, 1917

time has come for the more complete organization of the Lutheran Church in this country, we propose that the General Synod, the General Council, and the United Synod of the South, together with all other bodies one with us in our Lutheran faith, be united as soon as possible in one general organization to be known as The United Lutheran Church in America." The presidents of the three general bodies, who by this time were co-operating with one another quite regularly, were requested to appoint a committee to prepare a constitution for the new organization that might be submitted to the general bodies at their meetings that year.

The committee on constitution was appointed, and after much strenuous labor the constitution for the merged body was completed. A few weeks later, June 20-27, 1917, it was solemnly ratified by the General Synod. The General Council adopted it October 24-29, 1917, and the United Synod of the South did likewise November 6-8, 1917. The instrument was then submitted to the district synods and every one of the forty-six synods composing the three general bodies promptly ratified it in the prescribed manner, except the Augustana Synod, which because of its distinctive problems and special needs formally withdrew from the General Council. The three bodies appointed a joint Ways and Means Committee to prepare the foundation and set up the machinery for the operation of the new Church. This committee performed its difficult and delicate task with eminent success. During

The Merger Consummated

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the week of November 11, 1918, each of the general bodies held an adjourned meeting in New York City, completing their business as separate organizations, and then, November 14-16, all of them joined in the general meeting in that city, that constituted the first convention of The United Lutheran Church in America. As the first president of the new organization the convention elected the Rev. Dr. F. H. Knubel, of New York City, a member of the New York Synod of the General Synod, and president of the National Lutheran Commission for Soldiers' and Sailors' Welfare. The first secretary was the Rev. Dr. M. G. G. Scherer, a member of the South Carolina Synod and president of the United Synod of the South. The first Treasurer was Mr. E. Clarence Miller, of Philadelphia, a member of the Pennsylvania Ministerium.

The organization of The United Lutheran Church was the most complete example of denominational consolidation ever attempted by any Protestant body in our country. It was accomplished with remarkable unanimity. It not only aroused the greatest enthusiasm among its own constituents but it also attracted wide attention on the part of the general public, for it became immediately one of the most potent forces to be reckoned with in American Christianity. The new body embraced forty-five district synods covering all parts of the United States and Canada and aggregating almost 800,000 confirmed members, with about 2,800 ministers and nearly 4,000 churches. It soon outnumbered the Missouri Synod in its confirmed membership, and next to the loose organi-

Its Significance

zation known as the Synodical Conference it is the largest Lutheran body in America today.

The spirit and structure of The United Lutheran Church may be understood by considering several of the special characteristics of the new body. The objects of the organization are stated to be the extension of the pure teaching of the Gospel, the strengthening of the Church in the unity of the true faith, the outward expression of the spiritual unity of Lutheran congregations, and the co-ordination and direction of the energies of the Church in training ministers, in prosecuting missionary work, in regulating the externals of worship, and in publishing literature.

Its Avowed Objects

For its doctrinal basis The United Lutheran Church receives the canonical Scriptures as the inspired Word of God and the only infallible rule of faith and practice, the three general creeds as important testimonies drawn from the Holy Scriptures, the Unaltered Augsburg Confession as a correct exhibition of the faith and doctrine of the Lutheran Church and the generic creed of Lutheranism, and the other symbolical books as in harmony of one and the same pure Scriptural faith. The preamble of the constitution invites all Evangelical Lutheran congregations and synods in America who agree with this doctrinal basis, to unite with The United Lutheran Church on the terms of its constitution. Thus the door is left open for a still larger measure of denominational consolidation.

Its Doctrinal Basis

The liturgy and hymnology recommended by the

new body is the Common Service Book and Hymnal and the common book of ministerial acts that were completed by a joint committee of the three bodies before the merger was consummated.

Its Liturgy and Hymnology

Concerning the polity of the United Lutheran Church it may be observed that larger powers are conferred on the general organization than in any other body of Lutherans in this country. As one of the fundamental principles of the organization it is specifically stated that the congregations are the primary bodies through which power committed by Christ to the Church is normally exercised. But by the provisions of the constitution and by-laws wide jurisdiction is expressly delegated by the Synods to The United Lutheran Church. Legislative powers are vested in the biennial convention of the delegates from the constituent Synods. These powers are absolute in such matters as the external relations of synods, conferences, or boards with general organizations or movements, in matters affecting the United Church as a whole, in inter-synodical affairs, in protecting the doctrinal basis, and in publishing books of devotion and instruction. The judicial authority is the commission of adjudication, which interprets laws and principles and decides all disputed questions of doctrine and practice.

Its Polity

The executive functions of The United Lutheran Church are vested in the officers of the general body, in an Executive Board, and in a score or more of other boards and committees for special purposes. It is here

that the greatest concentration of power is effected. Both the president and the secretary of the general body are salaried officials devoting their entire time to the duties of their offices. They are ex-officio members of the Executive Board. Wide jurisdiction is committed to the Executive Board. It is required to carry out the resolutions of The United Lutheran Church, to fill vacancies not otherwise provided for, to receive reports from all the other boards, regulate their propaganda for funds and co-ordinate their work, to present a budget and propose apportionments to the conventions, and to represent The United Lutheran Church and attend to its business during the interim between conventions. It is specified that if any district synod should desire to continue its established lines of work for reasons satisfactory to the general body, such privilege may be granted, but it is evident from the general scheme of administration that the work of the Church is done through the general boards as representatives of the Church at large rather than through the individual synods or their agencies.

Its Boards

This strong compact form of organization in the United Lutheran Church, involving the willing surrender of many a cherished right and the legal transfer of many millions of dollars worth of property, gave notice from the beginning that the merger of the three general bodies in The United Lutheran Church was intended to be thorough-going, permanent and effective. Taking the organization as a whole its spirit and

Its General Character

structure resembles the spirit and structure of the United Synod of the South in more respects than it resembles either of the other general bodies uniting in it. The general satisfaction with the union is due to the previous fact of genuine unity. The United Lutheran Church in America was the logical consummation of the events of half a century.

CHAPTER XXVII

THE MERGING OF DISTRICT SYNODS

The United Lutheran Church in America was formed by the district synods that had constituted the General Synod, the General Council, and the United Synod of the South. It therefore healed the schisms that had been made in 1862 and 1864. It placed all of the forty-five district synods on the same doctrinal basis, committed them all to the same general practices, and made them all to conduct their general benevolent and missionary operations through the same general boards. It was to be expected, therefore, that the organization of the larger general body would lead to the healing of the divisions among district synods that had grown out of the disruption during the period of internal discord. It was soon seen that The United Lutheran Church would not be a truly united Church until all of its interests in various synodical sections were thoroughly cemented into more compact units in their respective territories. To that end overlapping and competing synods began negotiations at once looking towards the readjustment of synodical lines that would unite the Lutheran forces in each district in one common aim and purpose.

One Effect of the General Merger

This work has made remarkable progress in the last few years. It is a distinct movement in the direction of larger units. It means much not only for enlarged unity but also for increased efficiency. For the dis-

trict synods, as the component parts of The United Lutheran Church, are directly charged with the administration of affairs on the territories where they operate, and no unifying power of general bodies is nearly so potent or effective as the bond of union that centers in the educational, missionary and benevolent institutions within a given territory. The process of merging district synods is only the completion of the merger in The United Lutheran Church.

Its Significance

Already (April, 1922) seven such mergers have taken place, and negotiations for readjustment have begun on two other territories, which if completed will practically eliminate all overlapping and competition among the district synods of The United Lutheran Church.

The first merger took place on the Pittsburgh territory within a year after the organization of The United Lutheran Church. The Pittsburgh district was the great battleground among Lutherans in 1867. The original Synod had been organized in 1845 by eight clergymen and six laymen. It had grown vigorously and in 1867 included sixty-seven pastors and one hundred and thirty-six churches. Then came the division, one part adhering to the General Synod, the other to the General Council. Each body claimed the original name, and for a long time there was much bitter feeling between the two. But the missionary spirit of the old Synod was maintained in both of its divisions, and Lutheranism flourished on the Pittsburgh territory.

Pittsburgh Synod

On November 18, 1919, when the two divisions reunited in the spirit of unity and brotherhood, the merger convention enrolled one hundred and eighty-five pastors and one hundred and six laymen. The new organization took the name of the original Pittsburgh Synod to preserve its historical continuity from 1845. It became the second largest synod in The United Lutheran Church. It prepared to manifest continued vitality in various missionary endeavors, and organized itself upon a strong basis calculated to make it an effective representative of Lutheranism among the teeming multitudes of the Pittsburgh district and in the general work of the Church at large.

Several months later two mergers of district synods occurred on the same day. One of these was in the State of Illinois. The congregations in that State belonging to The United Lutheran Church were separated into four district synods. Three of these had belonged to the General Synod, the Northern Illinois Synod (organized in 1851), the Central Illinois Synod (organized 1862), and the Southern Illinois Synod (organized 1901). One of them had belonged to the General Council, the Chicago Synod (organized 1896), which, however, was only partly in the State of Illinois. As the more effective administration of larger synodical units commended itself also to the Lutherans of Illinois, negotiations were begun that resulted in the organization on June 10, 1920, of the Illinois Synod, embracing practically all the congregations of The United Lutheran Church in that State. It enrolled one hun-

Illinois Synod

dred and fifteen pastors and one hundred and twenty-six congregations with a confirmed membership of 24,000. Like the other large synods, it elected a salaried president for a term of five years. It outlined an aggressive home missionary policy and employed two field missionaries. It set up the machinery necessary for a vigorous administration of United Lutheran Church interests on that strategic territory.

Another merger completed on June 10, 1920, was called the Michigan Synod of The United Lutheran Church. This was formed by the congregations of the Northern Indiana Synod of the former General Synod (organized 1855) and portions of the Chicago Synod lying in the State of Michigan. This merger was not according to state lines, but it was felt that the congregations in the State of Michigan would not be strong enough of themselves to take advantage of the splendid home missionary opportunities in that State. So it was agreed that the entire Synod of Northern Indiana should for the present help to constitute the Michigan Synod, with the understanding that when the pastorates in Michigan number twenty-five the Michigan Synod congregations in the State of Indiana will unite with the Indiana Synod. The new Synod numbered fifty pastors and eighty-seven congregations with about 12,000 confirmed members.

Michigan Synod

Two weeks after the Michigan Synod had been organized the Indiana Synod was born. This was the result of a merger of the Olive Branch Synod with a portion of the Chicago Synod. The Olive Branch Synod

was organized in 1848 and belonged to the General Synod. At the time of the merger it embraced forty-five congregations with 7,500 members, one-third of them in Kentucky and Tennessee, the rest in Indiana. On June 24, 1920, this Synod united with twenty-five congregations and 2,500 members of the Chicago Synod to form the Indiana Synod. The merger includes about fifty pastors and seventy congregations with about 10,000 confirmed members. It lies south of Logansport, Walton and Portland, Indiana, and stretches southward to the southern boundary of Tennessee. It has eleven congregations in Louisville and Jefferson County, Kentucky, and one other congregation in southern Kentucky, and six congregations in Tennessee. The rest of its congregations are in Indiana. It is the expectation that eventually the congregations in the State of Indiana but now belonging to the Michigan Synod will be included in the Indiana Synod also. The new Synod has large plans for the future and there are prospects of rapid growth, particularly in southern Indiana.

Indiana Synod

That same year the tendency towards larger units of synodical organization brought practical results also in the State of Ohio. The congregations of The United Lutheran Church in that State had been divided into four synods, each of them embracing about one-fourth of the membership on that territory. Three of these synods had belonged to the General Synod, the East Ohio Synod (dating from 1836), the Miami Synod (dating from 1844), and the Wittenberg Synod (dating from 1847).

Ohio Synod

The District Synod of Ohio (dating from 1861) had belonged to the General Council and had congregations scattered over the entire State. The merger of these four bodies into the Ohio Synod of The United Lutheran Church was consummated in a fine spirit of harmony on November 3, 1920. The Ohio Synod is the third largest synod in the general body. It counts about two hundred pastors and about three hundred congregations with over 53,000 confirmed members. It elected a salaried president and organized for vigorous prosecution of its educational and missionary work.

Early in 1921 the Lutherans in the State of North Carolina bearing allegiance to The United Lutheran Church formed what is called the United Evangelical Lutheran Synod of North Carolina. For a hundred years the Lutheran forces in that State had been divided into two synods. The North Carolina Synod had been organized in 1803 but in 1820 the Tennessee Synod was formed out of its ranks because the men of the Tennessee Synod took a decided stand for a distinctive Lutheran faith and practice. In 1886 both of these synods united with other synods of the South in forming the United Synod of the South, but they continued their separate synodical existence on the same territory in North Carolina. The Tennessee Synod was insistent in its demand for sound Lutheran faith and practice. The North Carolina Synod became one of the most active and progressive synods in the Church, and gradually it came to adhere to a strict confessional basis and practically the same conception of Lutheran

North Carolina Synod

practice as that held by the Tennessee Synod. This fact, together with the impulse to larger units that came with the organization of the United Lutheran Church, led the two synods to vote for a merger of their interests. The merger was completed on March 2, 1921, and the separation of a hundred years was ended. The merged synod elected a salaried president for a term of five years, who has executive charge of the one hundred and thirteen pastors, the two hundred congregations, and the 27,000 confirmed members embraced in the organization.

A second merger of synods that had previously belonged to the United Synod of the South was effected on March 17, 1922. The Virginia Synod (organized 1829) united with the Southwestern Virginia Synod (organized 1842) and the Holston Synod (organized 1860) to form the Lutheran Synod of Virginia. The Virginia Synod numbered thirty-five pastors with a membership of about 7,000. The Southwestern Virginia Synod included twenty-two pastors and a membership of 5,000. The Holston Synod in the eastern part of the State of Tennessee embraced eleven pastors and over 2,000 members. The three bodies had similar interests not only in location but also in education and missions. The negotiations looking towards a merger had been going on for several years. The occasion for its completion came with the burning of Elizabeth College at Salem, Virginia, making it necessary for the three synods to meet and determine a common educational policy. The result of the joint meeting was the organic

Virginia Synod

union of the three synods, forming a body that gives promise of great usefulness in The United Lutheran Church.

Thus the process of merging district synods which has been going on during the past four years has given us seven synods where in the spring of 1919 there were seventeen. The movement to organize or reorganize synods according to state lines or other geographical boundaries goes on. It tends to heal the wounds in the body of the Church that have been open since the period of internal discord. It tends towards greater efficiency not only in the different districts but also in the Church at large. It makes the organization of The United Lutheran Church a positive reality with the promise of permanent power. It is part of the logic of events, an incident to the spirit of the times in an age of larger units.

Summary

CHAPTER XXVIII

THE NATIONAL LUTHERAN COUNCIL

After the formation of the Norwegian Lutheran Church of America and The United Lutheran Church in America, the next logical step in an age of denominational consolidation was the formation of a larger group that would embrace both of these and yet other Lutheran bodies. This step was taken in the organization of the National Lutheran Council. This new body was born of war-time conditions. It was the direct outgrowth of the National Lutheran Commission for Soldiers' and Sailors' Welfare.

Larger Co-operation

The National Lutheran Commission had been organnized in October, 1917, as an emergency organization to meet the necessity which the Church felt of ministering to her boys in the service of their country. It was the first general organization to include virtually all Lutherans of America. It performed a vast volume of work in a short time and rendered a splendid service to the Church and her men. The Commission employed one hundred and fifty camp pastors, helped to appoint and equip seventy-eight army chaplains and eleven navy chaplains, sent commissioners to France to confer with the French Lutheran Church and render all possible assistance to chaplains and service men over there, maintained four service houses in eastern cities, labored among interned aliens, ministered to the

Work of the National Commission

sick and dying in about sixty hospitals, vindicated the loyalty of the Lutheran Church in this country, and rendered a great variety of special services to individuals and families.

The various Lutheran Church bodies, all except the Synodical Conference, co-operated with the utmost harmony in the work of the Commission. When the Commission asked for $750,000 to do its work, the Church responded with $1,360,000. Now the Commission had been organized solely for soldiers' and sailors' welfare and its funds could not be used for any other purpose. But as the Commission was the only general Lutheran organization and as it had a fine balance in its treasury it received a great many requests for services that lay outside its proper sphere of action. The war brought many changes and increasing needs. Before the National Commission was a year old an urgent need was felt for the prosecution of certain forms of missionary work in the growing industrial centers, especially in the munition plants and ship-building centers. Then, too, it was becoming evident that the Lutheran Churches in Europe would stand in need of physical and moral aid in the reconstruction period that would follow the war. Moreover, there were several important matters of common interest here at home that invited common action by our Church organizations, and the success that had attended the work of the Commission led many to believe that the sphere of practical co-operation could be enlarged with much benefit to the whole Church. The

A Wider Field Disclosed

Norwegian Lutherans had united, the union of Muhlenberg Lutheranism was assured, and all the signs of the times pointed to further denominational consolidation.

The presidents of the general bodies that had cooperated in the National Commission, together with one or more representatives from each of those bodies, held a preliminary meeting on July 17, 1918, and after a thorough discussion of the situation resolved to appoint a committee to formulate plans for the creation of a National Council of Lutherans. The situation seemed to demand immediate action, even before the general bodies could meet and ratify the plans. So, on September 6, 1918, in Chicago the National Lutheran Council was formally organized by representatives appointed by the presidents of the general bodies in the ratio of one representative for every 150,000 communicant members or fraction thereof. Its officers were: President, the Rev. Dr. H. G. Stub, president of the Norwegian Lutheran Church of America; Vice-President, the Hon. John L. Zimmerman, of The United Lutheran Church in America; Secretary, the Rev. Dr. Lauritz Larsen, of the Norwegian Lutheran Church of America; Treasurer, the Hon. E. F. Eilert, of The United Lutheran Church in America.

The National Council Organized

The objects and purposes of the new organization were stated as follows: 1. To speak for the Lutheran Church and give publicity to its utterances on all matters which require an expression of the common conviction and sentiment

Its Objects

MUHLENBERG BUILDING, PHILADELPHIA

of the Church. 2. To be the representative of the Lutheran Church in America in its attitude toward, or relation to, organized bodies outside of itself. 3. To bring to the attention of the Church all such matters as require common utterance or action. 4. To further the work of recognized agencies of the Church that deal with problems arising out of war or other emergencies; to co-ordinate, harmonize and unify their activities; and to create new agencies to meet circumstances which require common action. 5. To co-ordinate the activities of the Church and its agencies for the solution of new problems which affect the religious life and consciousness of the people, e. g., social, economic and educational conditions. 6. To foster true Christian loyalty to the State; and to labor for the maintenance of a right relation between Church and State as distinct, divine institutions. 7. To promote the gathering and publication of true and uniform statistical information concerning the Lutheran Church in America. The Council expressly disclaims the right to interfere with the inner life of its constituent bodies or in any way to prejudice their confessional basis.

Each body co-operating in the execution of the program of the Council is entitled to one representative for every 100,000 confirmed members or one-third fraction thereof. The Church bodies that officially ratified the organization of the National Lutheran Council were The United Lutheran Church, the Norwegian Lutheran Church, the Augustana Synod, the Joint Synod of Ohio, the Iowa Synod, the United Danish Church, the Luth-

Its Membership

eran Free Church, the Danish Lutheran Church, the Icelandic Synod and the Buffalo Synod; but the Iowa Synod withdrew in 1920.

Under the regulations governing the Council the administrative work is placed in the hands of the President. In December, 1920, the office of Executive Secretary was abolished and Dr. Larsen was elected President. There is an executive committee consisting of the officers and five other members.

Its Operation

All matters for action or consideration pass through the office of the President and are submitted by him either to the executive committee or to some special committee of the Council. The decisions of the Council are executed through the office of the President. This plan of organization makes it possible for the Council to act quickly and effectively whenever an occasion for action arises.

The new organization lost no time in beginning its work. Immediately after the meeting of organization an office was opened in Washington and the Secretary of the Council was placed in charge.

An Office in Washington

He kept in constant touch with the various government agencies and thus the Church was enabled to present that united front which was so necessary to secure the rights belonging to Lutherans and to counteract unjust misunderstandings of the Lutheran Church.

Another serious problem immediately facing the Council at the time of its organization arose from various war-time industrial communities. The great needs in these communities called for co-operation in

work of a home mission nature. The Council therefore took up the work until the different home mission boards would be able to undertake it. This suggested that some action should be secured to prevent for the future the duplication and overlapping of home mission efforts on the part of the various Lutheran bodies in different sections of our country. Accordingly, the Council brought together representatives of the mission boards who planned to co-ordinate their work and avoid future misunderstandings. A little later, March, 1919, the Council was instrumental in bringing together a body of theologians, representing the bodies belonging to the Council, to discuss questions of doctrine and practice which had hitherto been an obstacle to closer co-operation in various lines. The result of this general conference was complete agreement on all fundamental questions under consideration and a declaration that the way is open for complete co-operation among these bodies.

Meeting Emergencies

Meanwhile it had become more and more evident that the Lutheran Church should have some central agency of publicity. For this purpose the National Lutheran Council secured the Lutheran Bureau of New York City, an organization that had grown out of the celebration of the Quadri-Centennial in 1917 and through the unselfish efforts of Lutheran laymen had been developed to a high state of efficiency. Its purpose is to gather information of every kind concerning the Lutheran Church at home and abroad, in the past and

The Lutheran Bureau

in the present, and to distribute this information as widely as possible through the public press and otherwise. It maintains a reference library and information bureau, a clipping bureau and a complete news service agency. Through the application of modern publicity methods it renders an increasingly large service to all parts of the Lutheran Church both in America and in Europe.

The Council also has a committee on statistics whose purpose it is to gather and publish true and uniform statistical information concerning the Lutheran Church in America. Two of its members with the aid of others have prepared and published the "Lutheran World Almanac and Annual Encyclopedia" for 1921 and 1922. These two volumes aggregate nearly fourteen hundred pages of most valuable information concerning the Lutheran Church the world over. Dr. Carroll, the government statistician of religious bodies, calls it the "most ambitious undertaking any body of Christians has, perhaps, yet attempted in this country, or, for that matter, in any country."

Lutheran World Almanac

But even more valuable than the work of the National Lutheran Council for the Lutheran Church in America is the work that it has done for the Lutheran Church in other parts of the world. The work of reconstruction in Europe was taken up as early as February, 1919. Five commissioners were appointed to go to Europe and ascertain the needs. At the same time an appeal was made to the Church for $500,000

European Relief

for European relief and reconstruction. The appeal brought more than $600,000. But the reports of the commissioners disclosed much greater needs than had been surmised. In October, 1919, a special appeal was made for clothing, especially for Poland and the Baltic provinces. In response to this appeal about eight hundred tons of clothing were received and distributed and an additional $250,000 for transportation, medical and other supplies. At the urgent request of the Council, the Rev. Dr. J. A. Morehead, one of the European commissioners, returned to Europe in February, 1920, to administer the relief work in person. He has been the standing representative of the Council in its European work assisted at times by other special commissioners. To September, 1921, the Council had distributed more than a million and a quarter dollars in gifts of money and food among the sufferers in seventeen European countries. In addition it applied gifts of clothing conservatively estimated to be worth two and a half millions of dollars. All this has been done on sound principles of charity and with a business system that has insured the utmost economy and efficiency. It would require many volumes to tell the full story of the good that has been accomplished by this World Service of the National Lutheran Council in strengthening the influence and work of the Church, in recovering faith, in alleviating suffering, and in saving life.

In connection with this reconstruction work the distressed condition of Lutheran foreign missions throughout the world was constantly brought to the

attention of the Council. The Council was not authorized to undertake missionary work but it requested the foreign mission boards of the various bodies to appoint representatives to meet together to study the Lutheran world situation and to frame some common policy. The result was the organization in January, 1920, of the Lutheran Foreign Missions Conference of America. This conference took up at once the cause of the distressed Lutheran missions, assuring them of moral support and securing emergency appropriations for their relief. The Missions Conference then asked that the National Council include in its campaign budget for 1920 the sum of $300,000 for the support of these missions. This was done, and more than $200,000 has been paid toward the support of Lutheran foreign missions in China, Japan, India and Africa.

Foreign Missions Conference

From this brief summary of the activities of the National Lutheran Council in the short period of its existence it is clear that there is a wide field for such an organization among Lutherans in America. It was called into life by the emergencies of war times, but it is maintained by the needs of the times of peace, for it answers the call that comes in an age of larger units. It does not attempt to assume the functions of a super-synod or to interfere in the slightest degree with the independence of action on the part of its constituent bodies. It only seeks to co-ordinate their efforts and to serve as an agency through which they can work

The Council Not Legislative

together at tasks for which no one of them alone would be adequate. It also serves as a medium of acquaintance among the Lutheran bodies of America, enabling them to discuss their common difficulties and to discover the extent of their unity. In this sense it does form a bond of union among the bodies in its membership and constitutes the largest Lutheran organization in America, embracing fully two-thirds of the entire Lutheran Church in this country.

A New Outlook

But even more important than the expressed ideals and the visible activities of the National Lutheran Council is the fact that out of its work there has grown a fuller national Lutheran consciousness and with it a new Lutheran world consciousness.

INDEX

Adams, J. Q., 74, 126.
Adventism, 130.
Africa, 143, 232, 251, 310, 342.
Akron, O., 283ff.
Alabama, 250.
Alaska, 310.
Albany, N. Y., 26, 28, 48, 89, 238.
Allegheny Mts., 84, 86.
Alleghany Synod, 139.
American Bible Society, 82.
American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, 82, 142.
American Education Society, 82
American Federation of Labor, 206.
American Home Missionary Society, 82.
American S. S., Union, 82.
American Tract Society, 82.
Amsterdam, 26ff, 37.
Andover, Ill., 239.
Andren, O. C. T., 243, 246.
Anne, Queen, 31.
Anti-Mo. Brotherhood, 223, 306ff.
Arends, G., 90.
Arensius, Bernhard, 29.
Assn. of English Churches, 251.
Atchison, Kans., 228.
Athens, N. Y., 32.
Atlantic Ocean, 67, 115, 237.
Augsburg, 41.
Augsburg Confession: U. L. C. Const., 332. Swedes, 35 (See also Augustana Synod). Pa. Min., 96, 174. N. C. Synod, 98. Schoeber's explanation, 101, at organization of G. S., 108. Position of Schmucker, 118, 168. Criticism of, 170, 173. Hartwick Synod's 172. Franckean Synod's rejection, 173, 187. "Errors" of, 175ff. Melanchthon Synod's charges, 177. N. Ill., Synod's position, 182, 244. Action of G. S. at York, 188. Action of G. C., 193. Progress in acceptance, 276.
Augustana, 223, 242.
Augustana Synod, 163, 183, 194, 221, 223, 233, 235ff, 288, 328, 337. See also Norwegian Augustana Synod.
Aureen, Jonas, 38.
Austria, 41.

Baltic Provinces, 340.
Baltimore, Md., 67, 146, 285.
Baptists, 81, 133, 184, 218, 240.
Battery Park, 29.
Baugher, Dr. H. L., 173.
Bengston, Andrew, 37.
Berkenmeyer, W. C., 32ff, 89.
Berks Co., Pa., 67ff.
Bishop Hall Colony, Ill., 236.
Bjork, Eric., 38.
Blue Laws. See laws.
Blue Ridge Mts., 53.
Boards: Home Mission, 140, 227. Ch. Extension, 143, 227. Mo. Synod, 258. Colored Mission, 260. G. C., 229, 288. Miscel., 299. Foreign Mission, 316, 342. U. L. C., 323.
Boltzius, Martin, 42ff.
Book of Concord. See Symbolical Books.
Boston, Mass., 138, 144, 221.
Brandt, N. O., 307.
Braunsdorf, Saxony, 152.
Brazil, 254, 256.
Brooklyn, N. Y., 221.
Brown, J. A., 189, 191.
Brunnholtz, Peter, 58, 60, 263.
Bryant, W. C., 79.
Buffalo, N. Y., 156, 238.
Buffalo Synod, 135, 156ff, 171, 179, 338.
Burlington, Ia., 228.
Butler, J. G., 269.

California, 127, 149, 238.
California Synod, 227.

Campanius, John, 35.
Canada, 89, 219, 228, 254, 256.
Canada Synod, 139, 194, 230.
Canton, O., 144.
Carlsson, Erland, 241.
Carolinas: Salzburg Settlements, 44. Emigration to, 53. Emigration from, 85. See also N. & S. Carolina.
Carroll, Dr. H. K., 340.
Catechisms: Campanius' Indian, 35, 37. Quitman's, 97. Helmstaedt or N. C., 97. Kunze's tr., 115. Luther's, 174, 197, 274, 276. Swedish, 249.
Catskill Mts., 32.
Central Canada Synod, 229ff.
Central Ill. Synod, 139, 195, 227, 328.
Central Pa. Synod, 140.
Chambersburg, Pa., 91.
Charles XI, 37.
Charleston, S. C., 56, 62, 67, 290.
Charlestown, Mass., 131.
Chicago, Ill., 144, 183, 221, 238, 241, 245ff, 336.
Chicago Synod, 229, 328ff.
China, 233, 251, 257, 296, 309ff, 342.
Christ Church, N. Y., 33.
Christina, Queen, 34.
Church of England, 22ff, 142.
Church Extension, see Miss. Societies and Boards.
Church News from N. A., 161.
Church Union: Pre-Revolutionary efforts, 55. "Plan of Union," 80. Unionism, 98ff, 215, 264. Schmucker's Plan, 169. Den. Consolidation, 215.
Civil War, 126, 149, 183, 198, 218, 220, 231.
Claussen, C. L., 162, 307.
Colleges: Bethany, 223. Carthage, 145, 227. Concordia (Norwegian), 224. Augustana, 163, 223, 246. Elizabeth, 332. F. & M. 100, 116, 120. Gettysburg, 120, 144, 173, 181, 285. Gustavus Adolphus, 222. Immanuel, 260. Luther, 224. Martin Luther, 260. Midland, 228. of Mo. Synod, 158, 256. Muhlenberg, 145. Newberry, 144. N. Carolina, 145. Roanoke, 145. St. Olaf, 224. Thiel, 230. Upsala, 223. Wagner, 230. Wittenberg, 138, 140, 144, 171. See also Universities.
Columbia, S. C., 290.
Columbus, Christopher, 17.
Columbus, O., 144, 146, 167.
Concordia Pub. House, 256.
Conferences: Special of Pa. Min., 91, 107. Western of N. Y., 145. Norwegian Danish, 224ff. United Scandinavian, 243ff. Swedish, 248, 251.
Confessions, 5, 97, 110. Laxity, 79, 83, 214. Action of Pa. Min., 95, 174, 181, 197. Basis of N. C. Synod, 98. Maryland Synod "Abstract", 173ff. Definite Synodical Platform, 175ff. Basis of U. S. South, 185. Action of G. S. at York, 188. Danish, 224. Mo. Synod, 259. Power, 262. Conservation, 276ff. Norwegian Basis, 310. U. L. C. Basis, 322. See also Augsburg Confession and Symbolical Books.
Congregationalists, 80, 132.
Congress, 74, 76, 127, 204, 210.
Connecticut, 80.
Conservative Reformation and its Theology, 286.
Consistory of Hanover, 90.
Constitutions: Church. St. Michael's Model, 63. G. C. Model, 194. Carlsson's, 241. Norelius' 243. Krauth's, 286.
Constitutions: Synodical, Pa. Min., 95. G. S., 108, 185, 277ff. Model for District Synods, 110, 169. Augustana Synod, 249, 252. U. S. South, 288ff. U. L. C., 320, 322.
Constitution, U. S., 73, 75.
Cooper, J. F., 79.
Council of Church Boards of Education, 298.

Council of Women for Home Missions, 298.
Cuba, 296.
Cumberland Valley, 68, 86.

Danes, 221, 224. See also Scandinavians.
Danish Luth. Church in America, 224, 338.
Day, David A., 232.
Deaconesses, 144, 309.
Declaration of Independence, 18.
Decorah, Ia., 224.
Definite Synodical Platform, 175ff, 244.
Delaware, 24.
Delaware River, 5, 28, 34, 41, 45ff, 59, 235.
Demme, Dr. C. R., 265.
Denmark, 32, 220, 224.
Dietrichsen, J. W., 162, 307.
Disciples of Christ, 80.
District Synod of Ohio, 139, 194, 331.
Dresden, Germany, 151.
Dutch, 24ff, 36.
Dylander, John, 39.

Earltown, 46.
East Ohio Synod, 139, 181, 330.
Easton, Pa., 59.
East Pa. Synod, 140, 181.
Ebenezer, Ga., 41ff, 56, 62, 67.
Ecclesia Plantanda, 57.
Ecumenical Methodist Conference, 215.
Eielsen, Elling, 306.
Eielsen Synod, 162, 310.
Eliot, John, 36.
Elk River, 38.
Endress, Christian, 117.
England, 26, 31, 53, 75ff, 87, 142.
English Synod of Mo., 272.
English Synod of Ohio, 194.
Episcopalians, 38ff, 81, 89, 99ff, 103, 110, 132, 240, 264, 301.
Episcopate, 24.
Erfurt, 156.
Erie Canal, 85, 238.
Esbjorn, L. P., 162, 182, 239ff.
Europe, 6, 21ff, 41, 54, 60, 63, 69, 88, 94, 164, 203, 219, 302, 335, 340.
Evangelical Alliance, 169, 176.
Evangelical Review. See Lutheran Quarterly.
Evangelische Magazin, 145. 194,

Fabritius, Jacob, 28, 36.
Falckner, Dan'l, 31, 47.
Falckner, Justus, 30, 32, 38, 47.
Falckner's Swamp, 46.
Federal Council of Churches, 298ff.
Federalists, 75, 77.
Federation of Women's Boards of Foreign Missions, 298.
First German Luth. Cong., in America, 48.
First Luth. Ch. in America, 35.
First Luth. Minister in America, 34.
Fliedner, T. J., 144.
Florida, 238, 250.
Foreign Missions Conference of N. A., 297, 342.
Fort Wayne, Ind., 157, 159, 185, 190ff, 195, 199.
"Four Points," 281ff.
France, 75, 95, 324.
Francke, Hermann, 42, 50, 53, 56, 69, 95.
Franckean Synod, 173, 181, 187.
Fraternal Appeal to the American Churches, 169.
Frederick, Md., 62, 68, 117, 197.
Free Luth. Diets, 313.
Fremont, Neb., 228.
French and Indian War, 63.
Fritschel, Gottfried, 158.
Fritschel, Sigmund, 158.

Galesburg, Ill., 241ff, 283.
Galesburg Rule, 283ff.
Geissenhainer, Dr. F. W., 117.
General Assembly, 80, 132.
General Assn., 80.
General Conferences of Lutherans, 314.
General Council, 143, 185ff, 226, 247, 252, 259, 267, 277ff, 286ff, 312ff.

General Synod: Organization of, 107. Disruption of, 93, 140, 160ff, 167, 173, 181, 182ff, 226ff, 252, 263, 266ff, 276ff, 312ff.
General Synod of Confederate States. See United Synod of the South.
General War-Time Commission, 300.
Genet, Minister, 75.
Georgia, 41ff, 45.
Georgia Synod, 140, 288.
German Land Co., 47.
German Nebraska Synod, 227ff. See also Nebraska Synod.
Germantown, Pa., 46ff, 57ff, 102, 144.
Germany, 3, 32, 45ff, 88, 90, 101, 117, 135, 149, 152ff, 157, 160, 167, 170, 179, 218.
Gettysburg, Pa., 120, 144.
Gloria Dei Church, Philadelphia, Pa., 38.
Goering, Jacob, 117.
Goetwasser, J. E., 27, 35.
Grabau, J. A. A., 156.
Great Awakening, 82.
Great Lakes, 219, 238.
Greensboro, N. C., 260.
Greenville, Pa., 230.
Greenwald, Dr. E. E., 146.
Gronau, I. C., 42ff.
Grosshennersdorf, 55.
Gulf of Mexico, 151.
Gunn, Walter, 142.
Guntur, India, 142, 231, 316ff.
Gustavus Adolphus, 34.
Gutzlaff of China, 141.

Hagerstown, Md., 68, 107.
Hague Tribunal, 296.
Halle, 59, 63, 69, 89, 95, 97, 142. Fellow laborers of Muhlenberg, 33. Instructors for Salzburgers, 42. Pa. Appeal, 50ff. Orphanages, 55.
Halle Reports, 58, 64, 69.
Hamburg, 32ff.
Hamilton, Alexander, 75ff.
Handschuh, J. F., 59ff, 263.
Hankow, 257.
Hanover, Germany, 55, 90.
Hanover, Pa., 59.
Harding, W. G., 18.
Harpster, J. H., 232.
Harrisburg, Pa., 68, 117.
Hartford, Conn., 77.
Hartwig, J. C., 60, 116.
Hartwick Synod, 172, 180, 266.
Hasselquist, T. N., 223, 241ff.
Hauges Synod, 162, 306ff.
Hawaii, 295.
Hayne, Robt., 126.
Hazelius, E. L., 116.
Hedstrom, Jonas, 238, 240.
Hedstrom, Olof, 238, 240.
Helmuth, J. H. C., 69, 117, 120, 169.
Henkel, A. J., 48.
Henkel, Paul, 86, 90, 92, 99, 117. Sons of, 93, 134, 167.
Heyer, C. F., 87, 134, 138, 142, 232.
History of New Sweden by Acrelius, 39.
Holland, 26.
Holman Lecture, 277.
Holston Synod, 140, 181, 289, 332.
Holy Trinity Church, Wilmington, 38.
Home Mission Arbitration Commission, 317.
Home Missions Council, 298.
Homes for the Aged: Muhlenberg's Project, 62, Mo. Synod, 258. Norwegian, 309.
Homiletical Magazine, 257.
Hospices, Mo. Synod, 258.
Hospitals: Founded by Dr. Passavant, 144. Swedish, 249. Mo. Synod, 258.
Hudson River, 26, 30ff, 41, 45, 62, 67, 238.
Hymnals. See Liturgy.

Icelandic Synod, 338.
Idaho, 250.
Illinois, 84ff, 138, 162, 221, 226. 236, 238ff, 328.
Illinois Synod (German), 194ff, 229, 259, 281.
Illinois Synod, (U. L. C.), 328.

Immanuel Church, Chicago, 241, 245.
Immigrant Missions, 250, 309.
India, 55, 141ff, 231, 233, 250ff, 257, 316, 342.
Indiana, 84ff, 138ff, 226, 238, 241, 245, 330.
Indiana Synod, 229, 329ff.
Indians, American, 21, 68, 84, 116, 250, 310. Catechism, 35. N. T. 36. Salzburger Missions, 42. Assistance to Weiser, 46.
Inter-Church World Movement, 300.
Interstate Commerce Commission, 204, 210.
Iowa, 221, 238, 241, 245.
Iowa Synod, (U. L. C.), 139. See also Synod of Iowa.
Irving, Washington, 79.

Jacksonville, Ill., 144.
Jacobs, H. E., 315.
James II, 29.
Jamestown, Va., 17.
Janson, Erik, 236.
Jansonites, 236.
Japan, 232, 316, 342.
Jefferson Co., Ky., 330.
Jefferson Prairie, Wis., 245.
Jefferson, Thos., 75, 111.
Jerusalem Church, Ga., 44.
Jesuits, 81.
Joint Com. of the Quadri-Centennial of the Reformation, 319ff.
Joint Synod of Ohio, 86, 91ff, 107, 113, 134, 144, 146, 180, 194, 233, 259, 267, 272, 281ff, 290, 337.

Kaiserswerth, Germany, 144.
Kansas, 127, 246.
Kansas Synod, 139, 227.
Keller, Ezra, 138.
Kenilworth, N. J., 223.
Kentucky, 85ff, 131, 138, 330.
King of Sweden, 236.
Knoll, M. C., 32.
Knubel, F. H., 321.
Kocherthal, Joshua, 31, 67.
Koester, H. B., 45.
Kraft, Valentine, 56.
Krauth, C. Philip, 167, 190, 285.
Krauth, C. Porterfield, 110, 146, 152, 168, 177, 189ff, 285ff.
Kunze, J. C. 69, 89, 96, 99, 101, 115, 264.
Kurtz, Benj., 119, 152, 170ff.
Kurtz, J. N., 58, 69.
Kurtz, Nicholas, 60.
Kyushu, Isle, 232.

Lake Erie, 219.
Lake Michigan, 219.
Lake Ontario, 219.
Lake Superior, 246.
Lampbrecht, J. G., 86.
Lancaster, O., 87.
Lancaster, Pa., 46, 59, 61, 100, 103, 116ff, 183.
Lancaster Co., Pa., 68.
Language Question, 33, 39, 102ff, 181, 287.
Larsen, Lauritz, 336, 338.
Latin America, 295.
Law: Blue Laws, 22. Cases from disruption of G. S., 196.
Laymen's Missionary Movement, 318.
Lay "Trusteeism," 81, 131.
League of Nations, 297, 302.
Lebanon Co., Pa., 48, 67.
Lebanon Valley, 46.
Lehigh Co., Pa., 59.
Lemke, H. H., 42.
Lehre und Wehre, 157, 257.
Lexington Co., S. C., 67.
Liberia, Africa, 143, 232.
Lindahl, S. P. A., 252.
Lindsborg, Kans., 223.
Lintner, Ga., 266.
Literature, American, 79.
Liturgy: Muhlenberg's, 60ff, 100. American hymnal and liturgy issued, 64. Quitman's, 97. Seiler's, 98. "Common Hymn Book," 100. Kunze's Hymnal, 115. Prussian uniform, 156. Denunciation of, 170. Pa. Min., 181, 198. G. C., 194. Swedish, 240, 249. Development of, 262ff, 313ff, U. L. C., 322.
Lochman, Geo., 117.

Lock, Lars., 36.
Loehe, Wm. 157ff, 161, 180.
Loeser, J. J., 58.
Logansport, Ind., 330.
London, Eng., 32ff, 37, 50.
Long Island, 30, 230.
Lord's Day. See Sunday.
Louis XIV, 31.
Louisiana Territory, 76.
Louisville, Ky., 330.
Lutge, Anton, 86.
Luther, Martin, 104, 152ff, 315.
Lutheran, The, 146.
Lutheran Brethren, 310.
Lutheran Brotherhood, 251, 318.
Lutheran Bureau, 339.
Lutheraner, Der, 154, 160ff, 257.
Lutheraneren, 224.
Lutheran Free Church, 338.
Lutheran Historical Society, 318.
Lutheran Intelligencer, 145.
Lutheran Laymen's League, 258.
Lutheran Magazine, 145.
Lutheran and Missionary, 286.
Lutheran Observer, 146, 170, 176.
Lutheran Quarterly, 146, 161, 167.
Lutheran Social Union, 317.
Lutheran Standard, 146, 167.
Lutheran Witness, 257.
Lutherischer Zionsbote, 228.
Luther League, 251, 317.
Luther Society, 317.

Madagascar, 233, 309ff.
Madison Co., Va., 67.
Maine, 131.
Manhattan Island, 26.
Manitoba Synod, 229ff.
Mann, W. J., 189.
Marshall, Justice, 76.
Martinsburg, W. Va., 285.
Maryland, 38, 47, 49, 68, 85, 92, 114, 177.
Maryland Synod, 94, 145ff, 173, 176, 181.
Maryland and Virginia Synod, 92, 107, 119.
Massachusetts, 237, 247.
Mechling, J., 86.
Melanchthon Synod, 176, 181, 183, 186, 245.
Membership: Lutheran, U. L. C., 3, 321. Amsterdam, 26. Pa., 47, 66. 1825, 88, 1870, 150. G. S. in 1860, 182. U. S. of South, 185. Growth to 1910, 218. Scandinavian, 222ff, 245, 309ff. Native Indian, 232. Mo. Synod, 254. Wisconsin Synod, 260.
Membership, General, 211.
Mercersburg Movement, 133.
Methodists, 81, 104, 133, 166, 184, 218, 240.
Miami Synod, 139, 330.
Michigan, 221, 238, 247.
Michigan Synod, (German), 194, 229, 281, 329ff.
Michigan Synod (U. L. C.), 329.
Miller, R. J., 90.
Miller, E. C., 321.
Millerism, 130.
Milwaukee, Wis., 144, 221.
Ministerial Acts: First American 64, 1832, 266. Common, 271, 274, 313, 323.
Minneapolis, Minn., 306.
Minnesota, 143, 221, 228ff, 238, 241, 245ff.
Minnesota Synod, 194, 229, 259, 281.
Missionary, The, 146, 168.
Missionary Societies. Home, 134, 139ff. Central, 137, 141. Foreign, 141. Church, 142. N. German, 142. Church Extension, 143. Swedish, 239, 248. China, 251. W. H. and F. M., 251, 318. See also Boards.
Mississippi River, 151, 219, 221, 226.
Mississippi Synod, 140.
Mississippi Valley, 78, 84, 130, 138, 147, 149.
Missouri, 134, 152ff, 176.
Missouri Synod, 134, 154ff, 162, 171, 179, 194, 233, 254ff, 281, 290, 321.
Mohawk River, 30, 67.
Moline, Illinois, 243.
Monocacy River, 59.
Monroe, James, 76ff, 111, 125.

Monroe Doctrine, 111.
Montana, 250.
Montgomery Co., Pa., 47, 68.
Moorhead, Minn., 224.
Morality, 18ff, 54.
Moravians, 50, 59, 100ff, 116, 141.
Morehead, J. A., 334ff.
Mormonism, 130, 250.
Morris, J. G., 146, 313.
Mt. Pleasant, N. C., 145.
Mt. Vernon, N. Y., 144.
Mt. Vernon, Va., 74.
Muckenhaupt, S., 86.
Muhlenberg, Fred, 89.
Muhlenberg, Henry M., 66, 89, 94ff, 101, 111, 115, 152, 180, 239, 263, 270, 288, 312. Plans of, 4. Berkenmeyer and, 33. Wrangel and, 39. Salzburgers, 43. Father-in-law of, 46. Preparation of Stoever and Schulz for ordination, 49ff. Sketch of his work, 53-65 inc.
Muhlenberg, H. E. 103, 117.
Muhlenberg, Peter, 103.

Natl. Luth. Commission, 252, 321, 334ff.
Natl. Luth. Council, 252, 334ff.
Nebraska, 247.
Nebraska Synod, 139, 227. See also German Nebraska Synod.
Neuendettelsau, Bavaria, 157.
Neve, J. L., 315.
Nevin, Dr. J. W., 133.
New Amsterdam, 26ff, 36ff.
New Berne, N. C., 67.
Newberry, S. C., 290.
Newburgh, 32.
New England, 5, 19ff, 76ff, 221.
New Hanover, 4, 6ff, 56.
New Holland, 46, 48.
New Jersey, 24, 31, 38, 48, 62, 67.
New Market, Va., 86, 120.
New Netherlands, 26.
New Orleans, La., 260.
New York City, 74, 115, 117, 119ff, 131, 221, 231, 238, 317, 321, 339.
New York Ministerium, 88, 90, 96, 99, 103, 106ff, 111, 116, 120, 160, 172, 180, 194, 264ff, 276ff, 283.
New York State, 24ff, 45ff, 60, 62, 67, 84, 89, 99, 110, 113, 116, 156, 237ff, 245, 247.
New York Synod, 195, 321.
New Sweden, 34ff.
Niles Register, 79.
Norelius, Eric., 243.
North American Review, 79.
North Carolina, 67ff, 89ff, 97, 107, 110, 114, 116, 331, See also Carolinas.
North Carolina Synod, 93, 106, 134, 288. Organization, 90. Confessional basis, 98. Union movements in, 101. at Organization of G. S., 107. Withdrawal from G. S., 185. Merger, 331.
North Dakota, 221, 229.
Northfield, Minn., 224.
Northern Illinois Synod, 139, 162, 175, 182, 221, 243ff, 328.
Northern Indiana Synod, 139, 329.
Northwest Synod, 229.
Norway, 220, 307.
Norwegian Augustana Synod, 221, 223.
Norwegian Danish Conference, 223ff, 306.
Norwegian Lutheran Church, 162, 308ff, 334ff.
Norwegian Lutheran Free Church, 310.
Norwegian Lutheran Synod, 223, 306ff.
Norwegian Synod, 260.
Norwegians, 162, 180, 182, 221ff, 233, 243ff, 290, 305ff, See also Scandinavians.
Nova Scotia Synod, 229.
Nyberg, Pastor, 59.

Officer, Morris, 143, 232.
Oglethorpe, Gen., 41ff.
Ohio, 84ff, 91, 96, 114, 138, 176, 226, 330.
Ohio River, 84ff, 219.
Ohio Synod (U. L. C.), 92, 331. See also Joint Synod of Ohio.
"Old Lutherans," 156.

Old Swedes Church, Wilmington, 38.
Olive Branch Synod, 139, 329.
Olsson, O., 252.
Orangeburg, S. C., 67.
Orphanages: Salzburger, 42. Halle, 55. Zelienople, 144. Mt. Vernon, N. Y., 144. Germantown, Pa., 144. Boston, Mass., 144. Swedish, 249. Mo. Synod, 258. Norwegian, 309.
Otsego Co., N. Y., 116.
Ottensen, J. A., 307.
Oxford Movement, 132.

Pacific Coast, 226, 229ff, 250.
Pacific Synod, 229.
Palamcotta, India, 141.
Palatinate, 31, 46, 67.
Panama Canal, 296.
Pan-Presbyterian Alliance, 215.
Passavant, W. A., 144, 146, 162, 168, 228, 230.
Paxton, Ill., 246.
Penn, Wm., 5, 34, 37, 45ff.
Pennsylvania, 5ff, 23ff, 30, 33, 45ff, 53, 67ff, 75, 78, 84ff, 89ff, 96ff, 100, 103, 138, 245.
Pa. Ministerium, 116, 119ff, 142, 145, 160, 181, 263ff, 276ff, 321. Organization, 60. Revivification, 63. Mission Work, 86, 138, Division of, 90ff. Constitution, 95. Union Movements in, 99. Change of name, 102. Organization of G. S. 106ff. Return to G. S. 174. Organization of G. C. & Mt. Airy Sem., 185ff.
Penobscot River, 26.
Perkasie, 59.
Perry Co., Mo., 151.
Philadelphia, 35ff, 38, 45ff, 54, 56, 58, 60, 68, 91, 115, 117, 120, 131, 189, 285, 301, 317, 319.
Philippines, 295.
Pine Lake, Wis., 236.
Pittsburgh, Pa., 138, 144, 146, 285, 327.
Pittsburgh Synod, 139, 144, 175, 194, 196, 228ff, 327ff.
Poland, 341.
"Plan of Union," 80, 132.
Pope, The, 180.
Population: In Colonial Times, 18. Ga., 42. 1750, 53. Growth during Muhlenberg's life, 66. Growth in Ohio, Ind. and Ill., 85. Growth of U. S. to 1910, 203.
Portland, Ind., 330.
Portland, Ore., 230.
Porto Rico, 250, 295.
Potomac River, 183.
Presbyterians, 80, 104, 132, 166, 184, 218, 301.
Preus, 307.
Printz, Andrew, 37.
Printz, John, 35.
Providence, Pa., 46.
Prussia, 156.
Prussian Union, 135, 156, 161, 167, 170.
Pulpit and Altar Fellowship, 282ff, 290.
Puritans, 23, 166.

Quadri-Centennial of the Reformation, 308, 319ff, 339.
Quitman, Dr., 96, 100, 264.

Rabenhorst, Christian, 43ff.
Rajahmundry, India, 142, 232, 317.
Raritan River, 59.
Reading, Pa., 193ff.
Rebenach, J. C., 86.
Red Cross, 258.
Reformed Church, 133, 141, 156, 264. Holland, 26. New Netherlands, 27, Swedes, 35. Great Awakening, 82. Union Movements with Lutherans, 100ff, 113, 116. Opposition of G. S., 109.
Reformers, Lutheran, 5, 273.
Reis, J. F., 33.
Remensnyder, J. B., 316.
Revivals: 19th Cent., 80. Cumberland Valley, 86. Great Awakening, 82.
Revolutionary War, 18, 23, 40, 42ff, 64, 66, 69, 73ff, 80, 87, 90, 95, 115.

Reynolds, W. M., 181.
Rhinebeck, N. Y., 116.
Rhine River, 31.
Rhode Island, 23.
Rochester, N. Y., 230.
Rock Island, Ill., 222, 246.
Rocky Mts., 226.
Rocky Mt. Synod, 227.
Roman Catholic Church, 81, 131, 211.
Rudman, Andrew, 30, 38.

Saga, Japan, 232.
St. John's Church, Dresden, 151.
St. John's Church, Phila., 103.
St. Louis, Mo., 151, 159, 180, 220, 256, 307.
St. Mark's Church, Phila., 285.
St. Michael's Church, Phila., Dedication, 60. Constitution, 63. Split of, 102.
St. Paul, Minn., 220, 224, 308ff.
St. Peter, Minn., 223.
Salem, Va., 332.
Salzburgers, 41ff, 56, 67.
Sandin, Provost, 60.
Saskatoon, Canada, 230.
Saucon, 59.
Sandel, Andrew, 38.
Savannah, Ga., 41.
Savannah River, 26.
Saxony, 55, 134, 151ff, 254ff.
Scandinavians, 135, 149, 162, 218, 283. See also Danes, Norwegians and Swedes.
Schaeffer, C. F., 189.
Schaeffer, David F., 117.
Schaeffer, F. C., 119.
Schaeffer, F. D., 117.
Schaff, Dr. 133.
Schaum, John H., 58.
Scherer, M. G. G., 321.
Schmauk, T. E., 287.
Schmid, Empiricus, 56.
Schmidt's "Dogmatic Theology," 167, 178.
Schmidt, H. C., 232.
Schmidt, J. A., 307.
Schmidt, J. F., 117.
Schmucker, B. M., 266, 268.
Schmucker, S. S., 113, 118ff, 152, 168ff, 188, 190, 268.
Schober, G., 101.
Schoharie Valley, 32, 67.
Schools: Muhlenberg's, 57. Parochial, 61. Mo. Synod, 155, 255. Scandinavian, 222, 249, See also Colleges, Universities and Seminaries.
Schultze, C. E., 69.
Schulz, John C., 49.
Schuylkill River, 36.
Seamen's Friend Society, 82.
Seamen's Mission, 250, 309.
Seattle, Wash., 230.
Secret Societies, 282, 290.
Seiler, G. F., 98.
Seiss, J. A., 313.
Selinsgrove, Pa., 145.
Seminaries: Andover, 118. Augustana, 223, 246. Breklum, 228. Chicago (Maywood), 230. Columbia, S. C., 290. Dubuque, 158. Fort Wayne, 157. Gettysburg, 109ff, 115ff, 139, 144, 152, 168ff, 189ff, 276, 278, 285. Hartwick, 116, 139. Joint of Luths. and Refs. 101. Joint Synod, 144. Kropp, 230. Martin Luther, 228. Mo. Synod, 159, 162, 180, 256, 307. Mt. Airy, 145, 189ff, 198, 286ff. Lexington, 144. Muhlenberg's project, 62, 69. Norwegian, 224, 309. Pacific, 230. Princeton, See Universities. Saskatoon, 230. Susquehanna, 145. Waterloo, Ont., 230. Western, 228. Wittenberg, 140, 144.
Semler of Halle, 97.
Severinghaus, J. D., 228.
Shenandoah Valley, 68.
Slovak Synod, 260.
Sommer, Peter, 33.
South America, 296.
South Carolina, 67, 90, 126. See also Carolinas.
South Carolina Synod, 93, 144, 185, 288, 321.
South Dakota, 221, 229.
Southern Ill., Synod, 328.

South Mountain, 68.
Southwest Va. Synod, 140, 288, 332.
Spanish War, 295.
Spener, Philip, 95.
Spiritualism, 130.
Sprecher, Samuel, 170ff, 191.
Springer, Chas. 37.
Springfield, Ill., 159, 163, 183, 244ff, 256.
Springfield, O., 171.
Standard Oil Co., 205.
State-Churchism, 22, 40, 164, 224, 239ff.
Stauch, John 86ff, 92.
Steck, J. M., 86ff.
Steck, M. J., 87.
Stephan, Martin, 151ff, 156.
Stoevers, The, 48.
Storch, T., 90.
Storr and Flatt "Biblical Theology," 168.
Stub, H. G., 307, 309, 336.
Stuyvesant, Peter, 27ff, 36.
Sunday, Compulsory Observance, 22. Denial of Divine obligation, 175.
Sunday School Council of Evangelical Denominations, 298.
Susquehanna River, 46ff, 62, 68, 93, 181.
Susquehanna Synod, 140.
Sward, P. J., 252.
Sweden, 162, 220, 233, 235ff.
Swedes, 29ff, 34ff, 47, 57, 60, 63, 162, 182, 221ff, 235ff. See also Scandinavians.
Swensson, Carl, 252.
Symbolical Books, 96, 153, 158, 167, 174, 186, 193, 197, 279ff, 310, 322. See also Augsburg Confession and Confessions.
Synodical Conference, 134, 155, 159, 180, 223, 229, 259, 307, 322, 335.
Synodical Council, 249.
Synod of Iowa and other States, 157ff, 171, 179ff, 194, 233, 281ff, 290, 338.
Synods: See under separate headings.
Tamils, 257.
Taxes, Religious, 22.
Telugus, 231, 250.
Tercentenary of the Reformation, 101, 106.
Tennessee, 90, 116, 330, 332.
Tennessee Synod, 93, 107, 134, 167, 181, 289, 331.
Texas, 127, 228, 238.
Texas Synod, 140, 175, 185.
Theological Quarterly, 257.
Tinicum Island, 35ff.
Tokyo, Japan, 233.
Torkillus, Reorus, 34ff.
Tranberg, Rev. 57.
Trappe, The, 46ff, 56.
Treutlen, John A., 43.
Triebner, C. F., 43ff.
Trinity Church, N. Y., 32.
Trinity Church, St. Louis, 154.
Tulpehocken, 46, 59ff.

Uhl, L. L., 232.
Unangst, E., 232.
Unitarianism, 118, 130.
United Danish Luth. Church, 224, 337.
United Lutheran, The, 224.
United Lutheran Church, 92, 141, 252, 312ff, 334ff.
United Norwegian Church, 223, 306ff.
United States Bank, 75ff, 126.
United Synod of the South, 184, 232, 252, 271ff, 288ff, 312ff.
Universalism, 130.
Universities: Capitol, 145. Columbia, 115. Goettingen, 55, 159. Harvard, 118. Illinois State, 145, 163, 182, 244. Leipsic, 152, 159. Oxford, 132. Princeton, 118, 120, 169. Penna., 115, 120, 286. Rationalism in German, 95. Susquehanna, 145. See also Halle and Colleges.
Unonius, Gustaf, 236, 240.
Upper Milford, 59.
Urlsperger, Samuel, 41ff.

Velthusen, Dr. J. C., 98.
Vermont, 247.

Utah, 229.
Vigera, J. F., 58.
Virginia, 19, 46, 48ff, 68, 85ff, 90ff, 114, 138, 145, 332. Salzburg settlements in, 44, 67.
Virginia Synod, 93, 185, 288, 332.

Walther, C. F. W., 152ff, 180, 254, 259, 290, 307.
Walton, Ind., 330.
War of 1812, 76.
Wartburg Synod, 227ff.
Washington, D. C., 140, 269, 338.
Washington, Geo., 18, 74ff, 111.
Washington State, 229.
Waterloo, Ont., 230.
Ways and Means Com., of Merger, (U. L. C.), 320ff.
Webster, Daniel, 126.
Weidner, R. F., 230.
Weiser, Anna M., 59.
Weiser, Conrad, 46.
Wesley, John and Chas. 42.
Whitfield, Geo. 42.
West Pa. Synod, 93, 114, 145.
Western Va. Synod, 185.
Whitehouse, Bishop, 240.
Wicaco, 36.
William of Orange, 29.
Wilmington, Del., 34ff, 57.
Winchester, Va., 285.
Wisconsin, 162, 221, 229, 236, 238.
Wisconsin Synod, 194, 229, 259, 281.
Wittenberg Synod, 139, 330.
Wolf, E. J., 315.
World Almanac, 340.
World-Baptist Congress, 215.
World Conference on Faith and Order, 301.
World War, 258, 295ff.
Wrangel, C. M., 39, 63.
Wuertemberg, Emigrants from, 43, 160.
Wyneken, F. C. D., 160.

X. Y. Z. Affairs, 75.

Y. M. &. W. C. A's, 297.
York, Pa., 59, 117, 185, 187ff, 195, 268.
York Co., Pa., 68.

Zetskoorn, Abelius, 28.
Ziegenhagen, F. M., 50.
Zimmerman, J. L., 336.
Zinzendorf, Count, 50, 56.